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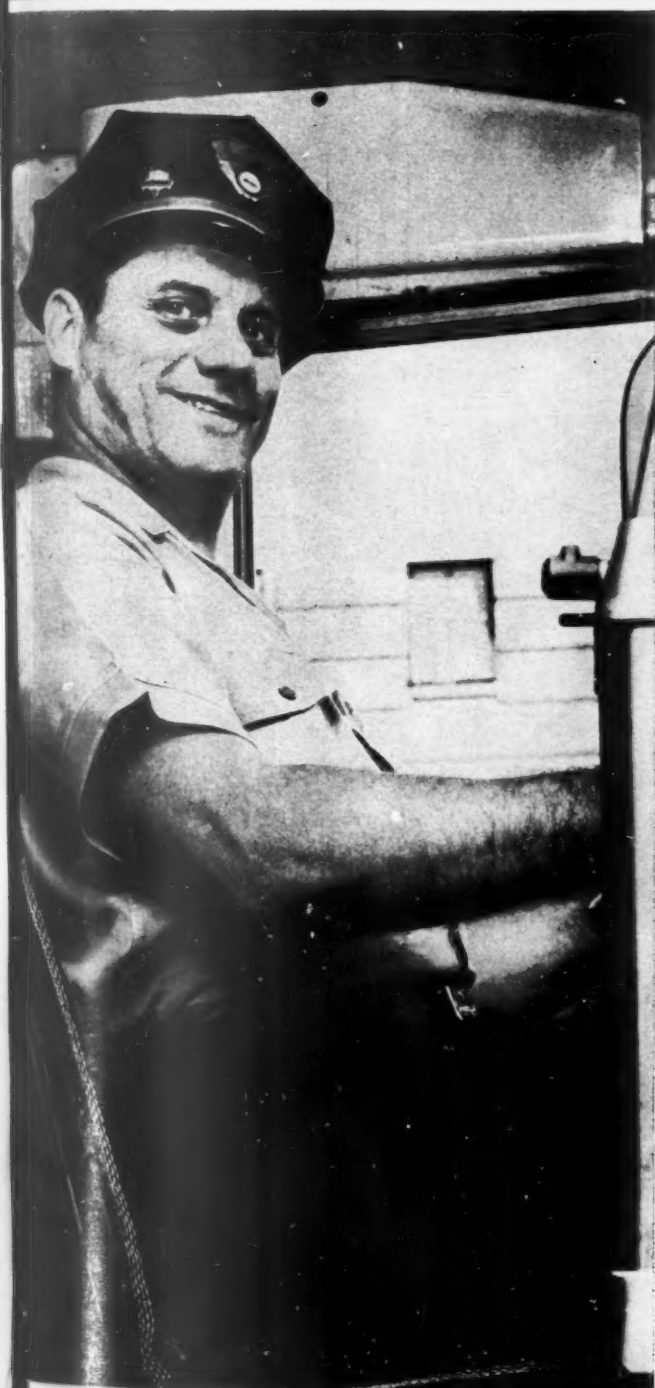
OCTOBER 1955
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PERIODICAL

The American

FEDERATIONIST



Too Few Schools, Not Enough Teachers

by Carl J. Megel

Disability Insurance in 1956

by Nelson H. Cruikshank

The Great Rise in Profits

by Seymour Brandwein

The Housing Fight Must Go On

by Harry C. Bates

We Can't Stay Out of Politics

by James L. McDevitt

The Cold War Against Labor

by Mary E. Ryder

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

“ SEE YOU AT THE....
**UNION
MEETING** ”



YOU DON'T WANT your union to be flabby and impotent. You want it to be vigorous and effective. You know that a vigorous and effective union means important benefits for you and your fellow members—higher wages, better conditions, more security. A union becomes vigorous and effective only when its members are sincerely interested in its affairs

not only at new-contract time but through the twelve months of the year. If you expect your union to do a job for you, remember that you must do your part by being a *real* trade unionist all the time. If you want to make economic progress, you must help constantly to strengthen your union. One way to do your part is by attending your meetings *regularly*.

The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

OCTOBER, 1955

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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Music's Plight

In order to have music there must be a music profession—that is, a great body of men and women who make music their life-work and who gain the means of livelihood through conveying to the public the results of their efforts.

In the field of music one cannot replace musicians by mechanized music and still expect in the long run to have music itself. For mechanized music does away with the human element without which music is impossible.

A good farmer plows back into his soil plenty of good fertilizer to get continuing crops. Without fertilizer, his fields will eventually go barren. Music is a dying profession, and the reason is the widespread use of mechanical music.

Thousands of radio stations which subsist largely because they can use canned music refuse to allot even a dime to plow back enrichment into the soil. And of the small amount they pay out for recordings, only a negligible amount goes back to the musicians who create the music. In farm terms, this represents a teaspoonful of enrichment to an acre of ground.

If there is cause for alarm in a whole army of unemployed in any walk of life, in the field of music the danger is doubly grave. For here is a field which cannot be made to bear fruit in a day or even a year—or a score of years.

It is about time our legislators realized that some method must be devised to offset a condition which is bound to result if the machine is not made to moderate its output and to turn back part of its proceeds to the nutriment and development of live musicians.

Leo Cluesmann.

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MR. MEGEL

Too Few Schools, Not Enough Teachers

By **CARL J. MEGEL**

President, American Federation of Teachers

A FEW WEEKS ago the American Federation of Teachers held its annual convention. At that gathering the delegates authorized a teachers' crusade to deal with the present shocking shortage of 350,000 classrooms and 300,000 qualified teachers in the nation's public schools. If this campaign is to succeed, the American Federation of Teachers must have the help of the combined labor movement.

The needs of our country's children have too long been by-passed or neglected. The time has come for action.

The American Federation of Teachers, like the American Federation of Labor, has long been on record as favoring federal aid for school construction, teachers' salaries and child health and welfare services. The needed legislation has been delayed all too long. We hope that there will be action at the next session of Congress.

The nation's schools have opened again. A million and one-half more students than ever before have poured into the nation's classrooms. And the school population will continue to grow for the next ten years.

Any report on the school situation is like the old-time broken record which repeated itself over and over. Each year we have looked ahead and hoped that the classroom and teacher shortages will be eased. Each school opening we face the bitter fact that the shortages have not been eased.

Educational opportunity is the foundation upon which the future of our nation depends. Our schools should be the source of national strength. Historians will regard this era with incredulity that a nation so

concerned over aggression should have adopted a formula of educational neglect which played into the hands of its potential enemies.

Our classroom shortage this fall is as great as ever in terms of both modern school facilities and space. The shortage of qualified teachers is as acute as at any time in the past. Some 300,000 teachers have less than a college degree. In some areas teachers who are now employed have had only a high school education themselves.

This year the teachers' colleges of the nation graduated less than 40,000. Many of these have not entered teaching and will not become teachers; higher salaries are available to them in business and industry.

Some estimates are that five years from now 40,000,000 children will be enrolled in public grade and high schools, as compared with about 33,000,000 now. Without substantial federal aid for education, 30,000,000 will receive inadequate education for

lack of good facilities and qualified teachers.

Meanwhile, the nation continues to be faced with the problem of overcrowding, school buildings 100 years old, classes in dank basements, in stores, old garages and other inadequate facilities, including rooms in school basements once used as coal bins and storage rooms.

Double and triple shift classes continue. Without federal aid they will increase. Even the best and most experienced teachers cannot be expected to perform more than the functions of baby sitters unless the existing conditions are corrected.

At our August convention, attended by teachers from 450 local and state units spread across the country, the delegates called for nationwide salary schedules for classroom teachers starting with at least \$5000 a year at the bachelor's degree level and reaching \$9000 in eight or less annual steps. Pay of teachers with B.A. degrees



Right now, shacks like this are serving as schools in many states

now averages about \$3500 a year. In a minority of "better pay" communities the high is \$7000 or more. One city pays only \$1050 a year. The convention also called for an additional spread up to \$500 a year for training above the bachelor's degree.

The delegates vigorously applauded A. F. of L. Secretary William Schnitzler, who spoke on the convention's opening day. He urged the American Federation of Teachers to increase its own organizational efforts and work closely with other labor organizations. He pledged the labor movement's active cooperation with the A. F. of T.

Mr. Schnitzler criticized the delaying tactics of the Administration on federal aid to education.

"Education cannot be put aside for some other time," he pointed out. "No matter how much we do for education, it will never be enough."

At our 1955 convention, as at previous conventions, emphasis was



A. F. of L. Secretary Schnitzler addressed Teachers' conclave

placed on the prime objective of the American Federation of Teachers—fostering the best education for the children of our land. Of course, good education costs money. Therefore,

the convention asked that local school boards should receive adequate power to impose taxes at the local level to operate their schools, including payment of increased teachers' salaries. And at the same time all local unions were warned not to be misled by the "usual diversionary attempts to broaden the tax base as a promise for future increases" and directed to join with other groups for increased state aid and to bring about the establishment of federal aid.

The American Federation of Teachers is the largest entirely voluntary organization made up and controlled by classroom teachers. The A. F. of T. is very proud to be a part of the organized labor movement. The recent convention further strengthened the links between the Teachers and the American Federation of Labor. With the backing of all labor, we hope to make progress in the months ahead in correcting the nation's teacher and classroom shortages.

Patman Report Says:

Administration Is Promoting Monopolies

THE Eisenhower Administration is failing to aid small business.

Small business is being gradually killed by big business. The Administration, while pretending to fight monopolies, is actually promoting their growth. These charges are contained in a special report issued by Congressman Wright Patman of Texas, chairman of the House Select Committee on Small Business. Evidence in support of the allegations is contained in the document.

The report points out that small business is earning less, failing more rapidly, being taken over by big business and does not receive aid from the Department of Justice or the Administration's Small Business Committee.

"While profit rates of the largest manufacturing corporations have gone up in recent years, profit rates of smaller corporations have drastically fallen," the report says. A table shows that corporations with assets of less than \$250,000 had a profit of only 3.6 per cent in the first quarter of this year, compared with 13.8 per cent for corporations with assets of over \$100 million. Figures for

1952, 1953 and 1954 were similar.

Failures in retail trade, commercial services and wholesale trade were 36 per cent and 47 per cent greater in the first six months of this year than in the same period of 1954, the report says. It adds:

"Substantially all failures in these fields were failures of small firms, where liabilities of less than \$100,000 were involved."

Congressman Patman's report charges that "the present chairman of the Federal Trade Commission [Edward F. Howrey], while holding a judicial office, became a member of a group known as 'the Attorney General's National Committee to Study the Anti-Trust Laws,' and assisted that group in a major lobbying effort against the anti-trust laws."

Then the Patman report adds:

"Among other things, the FTC chairman assigned staff members of the FTC to assist this group in writing its report, thus diverting funds which had been appropriated by Congress for enforcement of the anti-trust laws to the benefit of a private lobbying group whose efforts are directed at wrecking the anti-trust laws."

The Patman report charges that Howrey knew that "half of the lawyers in this group were representing defendants in anti-trust suits which were actually pending at the very time these lawyers set out to write their report." Also, says Congressman Patman, Howrey signed the report, "thus lending the prestige of his high office to a long list of recommendations for weakening the anti-trust laws," including "laws which this official took an oath to uphold and enforce."

Howrey is further charged with having failed to disqualify himself from participating in cases in which he had represented big business before the FTC as a private lawyer. One such case, says the special report, involves a tire and rubber company for which Howrey had been counsel. It is charged that, because of handling, it is probable "another ten years will elapse before this case reaches the Supreme Court, during which time the FTC's cease and desist order will be held in abeyance, and the tire companies involved in this case will be free to continue the monopolistic practices which the FTC's order was intended to stop."

The Nation Hears George Meany

Text of Labor Day Address Broadcast on Coast-to-Coast CBS Radio Network

AMERICAN workers are determined on this Labor Day to take the initiative toward unifying our country, restoring its economic and political progress and attaining the peace and security for which the whole free world hungers. In the true American spirit, the trade union movement is not waiting for others to do the job but is proceeding voluntarily to carry out its responsibilities. This is enterprise—free enterprise.

If there is any one prevailing theme for Labor Day this year, it is unity. The United States of America was founded on the concept that "in union there is strength." That same idea, of course, is the bedrock of the labor movement. Individual workers, helpless on their own to promote their well-being in a materialistic world, have found that in union there is strength. Yet for twenty years the trade union movement itself has been handicapped by the inherent weakness of division.

Now we stand on the threshold of a fundamental change. Three months from today the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are scheduled, if all goes well, to meet in joint convention in New York City. Thus a single, united labor federation will be established.

What does this mean to America? How will the merger affect the economic status of the nation's workers? In what way will it touch upon the interests of businessmen and the farmers? Will it exert any appreciable influence on political trends and government policy? And finally—will the cause of freedom and world peace be advanced as a result?

These are the questions that are most frequently raised in connection with the labor merger. I will try to answer them tonight, frankly and directly.

LABOR unity will, at the outset, bring together into a single organization more than 15,000,000 working men and women. With



PRESIDENT MEANY

their families this represents by conservative estimate more than 50,000,000 people, or about a third of the total population of our country. In a very real sense this brings added security to America. For the combined American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will be dedicated to preserving the free American way of life. One of the basic articles of its proposed constitution bars from membership any union dominated by Communist, Fascist or other totalitarian influences. There will thus be established in our country a mighty working force, immune to subversion and vigilant in its loyalty. No other free union in the world enjoys such built-in protection for democracy.

Another vital bulwark to our national defense is the high standard of living which the trade union movement has helped to create for the American people. It is no secret that the enemies of freedom have long anticipated, in vain, the collapse of our national economy. They counted on such a collapse to dissipate the assistance we have given to other free nations and to crumble our own resistance. But their calculations went wrong. They went wrong because mass purchasing power, built up in our country through years of union pressure and collective bargaining,

kept factory and farm production going at high levels even when the nation faced the threat of a postwar recession.

To remain healthy, our national economy must continue to grow and expand. It must provide millions of additional jobs each year as our population grows. It must do this even during a period when the introduction of automatic, labor-saving machinery tends to reduce the number of jobs normally available. Increased production is the only answer. Yet increased production can itself become a terrifying problem unless the American people enjoy sufficient purchasing power to buy and consume what they need.

This is the area where the activities of a united labor movement can most effectively serve the nation and its workers. As a result of the projected merger, labor will be in a far better position to meet the economic challenge of the future. It will possess more power at the bargaining table. It will be able to organize millions of unorganized workers and raise their income. Thus the purchasing power and the living standards of the great masses of our people stand to get a much-needed lift at a time when industry and agriculture will require broader markets for increased production.

Yet a few irreconcilable enemies of the trade union movement are busily at work spreading rumors and propaganda among businessmen and farmers to the effect that the merger will create a labor "monopoly" which should be curbed by further federal and state legislation.

Nothing can be further from the truth. At the outset, the united labor federation will represent only about one-fourth of the employed workers in this country. That is a far cry from monopoly. Furthermore, the term "monopoly" implies a combination by a few to enrich themselves at the expense of the many. Yet the basic purpose of the united labor movement will be to provide all workers, organized and unorganized,

with the opportunity of improving their conditions. Instead of monopolizing the benefits of a better life, it is our mission to spread them far and wide. Surely this is in keeping with the basic concepts of American democracy.

To indicate that the united labor movement will attempt to horsewhip the rest of the country is a complete distortion of the facts. Labor is dedicated, not to predatory objectives, but to serve as a force for good in the progress of our country.

There are also rumors current to the effect that the merger will result in the formation of a labor party here in America. I do not know of a single responsible union leader who favors such a step.

We have made no secret of the fact that expansion of the political activities of labor is slated when the merger takes effect in December. The public is entitled to know why. There are today on the books of eighteen states laws which, under the hypocritical guise of assuring the "right to work," actually prohibit any form of union-security clause in labor-management contracts, regardless of the wishes of the workers and the employers. These laws are a threat to the continued existence of unions. There still remains in federal law the Taft-Hartley Act. Despite campaign pledges from leaders of both major parties to correct its manifold injustices, the Taft-Hartley Act is just as unfair to labor today as when it was enacted in 1947.

These conditions alone would serve as sufficient incentive to labor to seek relief through the only legal and democratic method available in a free country—the exercise of the right to vote. But there are other aspects of the political and legislative trends in this country that are equally disturbing.

We feel very strongly that our government has disgracefully neglected the children of this country by failing to enact a thorough program of federal aid to education.

Slum conditions in the cities and even in some farm areas cry out for correction, yet Congress has repeatedly refused to go ahead with an effective public housing program that

would assure decent homes to all Americans.

Tax relief for big corporations and wealthy families was rushed through Congress at the first opportunity after the war ended, but low-income families are still carrying a disproportionately heavy share of the tax burden.

Social security benefits are far too low, the health needs of the American people are still being overlooked, but the government continues to give away natural resources and even atomic power development to private interests.

These are but a few of the conditions we hope to ameliorate through political action. Such action will be conducted on a strictly non-partisan basis.

The united labor movement will not subjugate itself to any one political party. It will endorse liberal and progressive candidates from both parties. It will make known to the workers of this country the records of all candidates. It will urge all citizens to register and to vote. Labor has full confidence that when the citizens of this country understand the issues and cast a full vote they will elect strong liberal majorities to Congress.

IN THE final analysis, all our efforts to build a more secure and rewarding life for the people of our country depend upon the maintenance of world peace and the preservation of freedom.

Free labor looks at war as the great destroyer of mankind. Without peace, without freedom, there can be no hope for human progress. We, therefore, would welcome a real lessening of international tensions.

These tensions stem from one source. Soviet Russia has threatened and still threatens the peace of the world and the freedom of the human race. The aggressive forces of communism have always cherished and never surrendered the ambition of dominating the entire world, even by force of arms.

We must face these harsh realities. We dare not be misled by the sudden change in attitude by Soviet leaders, the substitution of the smiling face technique for the menacing scowl.

Is there any sincerity behind those smiles? Has the Kremlin lifted the Iron Curtain? Has it freed the satellite nations under its tyrannical oppression? Has it stopped the oppression of millions of men and women chained in slave labor? Has it agreed to any definite steps for disarmament, for the unification of Germany or for settling all problems in Europe and Asia by peaceful means?

To ask these questions is to answer them. The Communists have not budged an inch from their aggressive position. Their smiles, therefore, may be more dangerous than their threats, if we allow ourselves to be deluded by this new technique.

Free labor has a deep distrust of communism and all other forms of totalitarianism because they trample upon human rights. A united labor movement in America will be able to play a more effective role in support of the free trade unions of other nations which the Communists are still actively trying to subvert to their own revolutionary ends. We can and will halt the spread of communism among workers in the free world.

Thus, the forthcoming unification of the trade union movement will bring into being a more effective instrument to meet the great challenge of our time by working for peace, for progress and for human freedom.

On this Labor Day the free workers of America wish to extend fraternal greetings to their fellow workers throughout the free world, with whom we are pledged to collaborate for peace and democracy.

In our own country we believe the opportunities for further advancement are limitless. New frontiers for vast economic and social progress lie ahead. The atomic age can be of tremendous benefit to mankind if we can summon the wisdom and foresight to take advantage of its constructive promise and prevent its use as a destructive weapon.

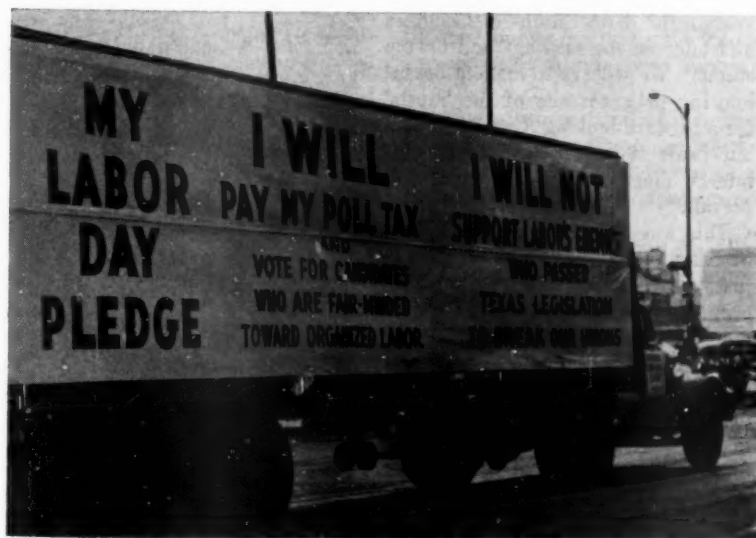
The members of the American Federation of Labor look to the year ahead with confidence. We expect to gain further ground in improving the standards of the working men and women in this country. We look forward also to a new tide of social and political progress. Labor is not and never will be satisfied with the status quo. Only by working for and achieving a better day in the future can we fulfill our destiny.





LABOR DAY, 1955

LABOR DAY was celebrated in highly successful fashion this year in communities across the nation. One of the largest of the many Labor Day parades was the one held in Detroit, where forces were combined by working people belonging to unions of the American Federation of Labor and unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. At top of this page is a picture showing one very small part of the mammoth Detroit parade. In Texas, where working people have been receiving rough treatment from the lawmakers, trade unionists marked Labor Day with parades in other ways. Trailer truck with self-explanatory sign took part in Houston's Labor Day parade. Picture below is one of scores of fun-packed events at the Labor Day celebration held in Cleveland. It took form of a picnic. For other Labor Day photos, please turn to Page 27.



On the public housing front, a bit of progress was made in Congress this year. The showdown will come in 1956.

THE FIGHT MUST GO ON

By **HARRY C. BATES**

Chairman, A. F. of L. Housing Committee

"MR. PRESIDENT, tomorrow is also a day in the battle for decent housing. We can and will carry the issue to the people next year in the deliberations of Congress and later on the hustings and on the stump. We will try to make a decent housing program one of the 'musts' for a forward-looking America. Since our cause is just, I have every confidence that in the long run it will prevail."

This was the concluding statement of Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois just before the Senate adopted a compromise bill providing for 45,000 units of low-rent public housing for the next year. This was just one-third of the 135,000 units authorized in the original bill passed by the Senate two months earlier and less than 25 per cent of the number the A. F. of L. had recommended.

Senator Douglas was expressing the great disappointment but unquenched determination of countless supporters of a housing program for the people. They had seen the Senate on June 7 vote, 44 to 38, to authorize construction of 135,000 units a year despite the President's recommendation for only a token 35,000 units. They had also seen the House on July 29, under the whip of leading spokesmen for the Administration, eliminate the entire authorization for public housing from the bill by a 217 to 188 vote. Finally, the 45,000-unit compromise was agreed to on August 1 by a voice vote in the Senate and by a 187 to 168 tally the next day in the House.

The American Federation of Labor, in testimony before the Senate and House committees considering the housing legislation, had urged Congress to authorize construction of 200,000 public housing units a year. The 45,000-unit authorization in the bill which was finally passed is clearly inadequate. Yet, viewed in the



MR. BATES

framework of the terrific fight which reactionary forces have waged against the current public housing program since it was first authorized six years ago, the 1955 compromise—as inadequate as it is—represents a "moral victory" for the pro-housing forces.

It is a moral victory because—for the first time in six years—housing legislation moved forward instead of backward. True, the progress must be measured in inches, not in miles, since the bill that was passed authorized construction of only 10,000 units more than the 35,000 Congress permitted last year, but it is progress nevertheless.

The 1955 bill represents progress also because it removed certain crippling restrictions imposed on the public housing program last year which had strictly confined its operations to a relative handful of communities with slum-clearance operations under way.

The real test will come next year. Will this year's moral victory be followed by a genuine victory in the form of a full-fledged public housing

authorization as an integral part of a comprehensive, forward-looking housing program? Or will the anti-housing elements be able to regird their forces and eliminate even the last vestiges of a housing program for the people? On the perseverance, energy and determination of labor and other pro-housing forces may well depend the answers to these questions.

If the facts alone could determine the scope and character of the nation's housing legislation, the comprehensive housing program which the American Federation of Labor has long advocated would have been put into effect long ago. The facts—the nation's minimum housing needs—clearly support the A. F. of L.'s housing program. What are some of these facts?

In the first place, despite a recent upsurge in housing construction, not enough houses are being built. As chairman of the Housing Committee of the A. F. of L., I am proud that our committee was the first to recognize the need for construction of a minimum of 2,000,000 dwellings a year. Since then the investigations of other experts have confirmed our judgment. It is now generally accepted that only if we can achieve the goal of 2,000,000 units a year can we begin to satisfy the nation's housing requirements.

Yet despite general agreement on the level of home building we need, the level of home building we have achieved is far below the 2,000,000 figure. The largest number of houses ever built in this country in one year was in 1950 when approximately 1,400,000 dwelling units were constructed. Since then housing construction has been considerably below that figure each year. Housing construction activity this year has been stepped up to something like 1,300,000 units, still below the 1950 level.

As a matter of fact, because the Administration has recently tightened up down-payment and amortization requirements for houses sold with government-guaranteed mortgages, it is quite possible that the number of houses built this year may not even reach 1,300,000. Bear in mind that even 1,300,000 would be 35 per cent below the nation's minimum housing requirements.

The reason that too few houses are being built is that—except for an insignificant trickle of public housing—no houses are being built for low-income families. To make matters worse, only a very inadequate amount of new housing is rented or sold at prices that most middle-income families can afford. Yet there can be no doubt that housing construction will not begin to approach the 2,000,000 units a year required until a substantial number of houses are built for low- and middle-income families.

Seen in that light, the crucial importance of a full-scale public housing program becomes readily apparent. After nearly twenty years of actual experience, it has been proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that low-rent public housing is the only effective means for making decent housing available to our low-income families at a price that they can afford.

Its formula of local initiative and management, *plus* a moderate federal subsidy, *plus* construction by private contractors almost invariably employing union craftsmen, offers the only feasible method of providing decent housing to low-income families at rents within their means.

The need for public housing is all the greater today because at long last our cities are beginning to wake up to the need for tearing down decrepit slums and rebuilding blighted areas with decent housing and community facilities adequate for today's needs. The old buildings cannot be torn down unless adequate housing is available for the displaced families. Since most families forced to move from slums slated to be cleared have very low incomes, only low-rent public housing can assure them alternative living quarters within their means.

Moreover, there are many low-income families who are crowded into unhabitable slums which are not

scheduled for immediate clearance, but these families are also entitled to an opportunity to obtain decent housing. Therefore, many more public housing units are needed than simply the number required to provide housing for families dislocated by slum clearance.

It all adds up to a rock-bottom minimum requirement of at least 200,000 public housing units a year. Alongside that figure, 35,000—all the Administration asked for—or even the 45,000 units Congress authorized are a very paltry number indeed.

Despite the false cries of the real estate lobby, public housing does not in the slightest degree compete with private builders, for private builders simply do not build homes at prices that low-income families can pay. The record clearly proves this.

In 1954, at the request of the Administration, Congress authorized the Federal Housing Administration to provide mortgage insurance for so-called "low-cost" housing to be privately built. As a matter of fact, if such homes had ever been built, the cost would not have been very low. The FHA itself estimated that a \$7000 house under this "low-cost" private housing program would require the occupant to make monthly payments of \$62.90, or about twice

"It is an effort to develop a practical means for making it possible to meet more of this particular need through private enterprise."

After they had been crying for years about the competition of public housing with private builders, one would have thought that the private builders would have jumped at the chance to build "low-cost" units under this new program so as to disprove the need for low-rent public housing.

How many of these "low-cost" houses were actually built? Not a single private builder has built a single housing unit under this so-called "low-cost" private housing program. This experience ought to silence for all time the charge that public housing competes with private housing.

FOR low-income families it is literally public housing or no housing—or, rather, continued existence in unsanitary, crumbling, overcrowded slums.

Nor is there only a need for housing for low-income families. Almost as pressing is the urgent need for housing at costs middle-income families can afford. Some privately built housing is undoubtedly being sold to families whose incomes place them in the middle brackets. But most moderate income families who buy houses at current high prices are taking on a heavier financial commitment than they can really shoulder without severe hardship to the entire family.

Unable to obtain housing at rents or sales prices they can afford, these families have been forced to saddle themselves with housing costs that siphon off one-fourth or even one-third of their family income. When a family must devote such a large part of its resources to housing expenses, it simply means that not enough remains for food, clothing, medical care, education and the other countless expenditures that every family must make.

There is no secret about how housing costs can be brought down to a level within the reach of middle-income families. A method was formulated more than five years ago for substantially reducing housing costs without requiring a cent of public subsidy. (Continued on Page 29)



Can housing that is unfit for animals be expected to give America good citizens?

as much as low-income families in most cities can afford to pay.

Administration spokesmen made no secret of their hope that this program would, as Administrator Albert M. Cole of the Housing and Home Finance Agency put it, "relieve the pressure upon the need for the public housing program." Thus at the hearings on the 1954 bill, Cole said:

Two Labor Conventions in Japan

By RICHARD DEVERALL

A. F. of L. Representative in Asia

TOKYO was recently the scene of two labor conventions. One was the convention of the 3,000,000-strong Sohyo organization, founded in 1950 with American occupation support but now anti-American and looking to Red China for friendship. The other convention was that of the 800,000-strong Zenro organization, found in 1954 in spite of its friends and, while not pro-American, pro-I.C.F.T.U. and possibly the strongest force for democracy within the labor movement of Nippon.

The Japanese labor movement arose in the 1890s. It was initially a growth Christian in inspiration. The first labor union was founded by several Christian Japanese; the first major labor federation, Yuaiikai, was founded in the basement of a Protestant church in Tokyo. World War I and the Russian revolution removed much of the Christian inspiration, and the Japanese labor movement was plagued by splits arising from the clash of Socialist and Communist ideologists. In the late 1920s splits were so common that, as one wag has said, a telephone book was needed to keep track of all the labor federations.

In 1945, under General MacArthur, the Socialists took the lead in reviving Sodomei. Sodomei was split early in 1946 by the Communists. The result was two major trade union centers—Sodomei and the N.C.I.U., or Sanbetsu. In 1948 the occupation took away from the government workers exercise of the right to strike; as government employees were the core of Sanbetsu, it soon collapsed.

In 1950, with the Communists in the doghouse, the Socialists aided in the creation of Sohyo, but after Sohyo unconditionally voted for the Left Socialist Party in 1952, the pro-Right Socialist Japan Seamen's Union rumbled and grumbled and in 1953

launched the Minroren movement. Sohyo was split and Zenro was created.

Many simple-minded observers, both Japanese and American, are wont to say that American "influence" within Japanese labor is very strong. The fact is that Communist influence was all-pervading during the first year of the occupation. Generally, Marxist thought patterns set the tone for the development of the postwar labor movement in Japan. If any comparisons are to be drawn,

it is that the Japanese labor movement has the volatile spirit and politically impregnated character of the French and Italian labor movements, both Communist and Socialist.

After Sohyo leaders went 100 per cent for the Left Socialists in 1952, the cooperative spirit was marked. Yet with the accession of Minoru Takano, the "Lenin of Japan," to the post of secretary-general of Sohyo and his drive in 1953 to turn the Socialist Party not into the guide of Sohyo but a part of a Sohyo-built



Sen Koga of Sodomei (left) and Chairman Minoru Takita (right) preside over the opening of the Zenro's second annual convention

united front including pro-Communist forces, the Left Socialists counterattacked in 1954 by backing Kaoru Ohta for the secretaryship. Mr. Ohta was defeated by a close vote. The struggle was a bitter one, and there were many splits within Sohyo.

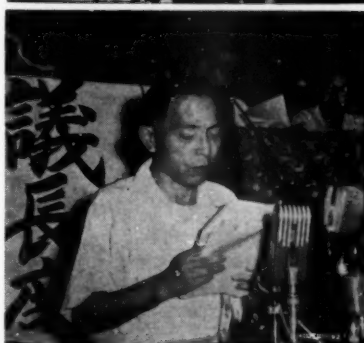
The Communist Party had cemented an enormous foothold inside Sohyo largely through the originally Communist organizational pattern of postwar labor in Japan. By this I mean that in nearly every Japanese union the membership rarely if ever meets as a unit. Women belong to a women's section; all youth under 30 belong to a youth section; and the older members, who generally pay little attention to the labor movement unless there is a strike order, go their way with family and wife but not with the union's policies.

The youth and women's sections of the locals meet frequently; the rank and file, as such, never. This situation is paralleled by the fact that top Sohyo headquarters and district headquarters have separate youth and women's directors who operate within the local unions almost as a state within a state. Further, with the mushrooming of Communist-Cominform youth and women's activities in Japan since the end of the war, the youth and women's sections on local, district and national levels have been successfully tied into the over-all "peace movement" and the "anti-American movement."

AS THE Left Socialists after the last Sohyo convention busied themselves with preparations for a final assault on Fortress Takano, the character of the Communist penetration within Sohyo underwent a marked reorientation. The Communists "softened" their tactics.

In May of this year the party's theoretical organ, *Vanguard*, told the comrades to soften activities, avoid rash strikes, make no haste, but slowly build complete labor unity in order to "improve the present balance of power" of the Communists and their ideological allies, the Left Socialists. On the eve of Sohyo's convention, the party repeated the theme that labor unity was essential.

The Sohyo convention which met in July was the scene of a mighty political struggle between most of the Left Socialists and some of the Communists on the one hand and the



Above, a Sohyo guest speaker is putting the blast on the United States. At left, Minoru Takano. He speaks a type of Japanese few actual workers can understand

forces led by Minoru Takano on the other (mainly the Japan Coal Miners Union, the core of Cominform penetration of labor in Japan).

As with the June convention of Sohyo's Government Railway Workers Union, the convention saw little discussion of basic trade union issues but instead a bitter fight between the Takano forces and the Left Socialist opposition, led by Mr. Ohta and a 35-year-old railway worker politician, Akira Iwai, who recently returned from a U.S. government all-expense tour of America.

The Sohyo convention received not one message from the I.C.F.T.U., the A. F. of L. or any other free union group except a cable from the British T.U.C. asking Sohyo to join the I.C.F.T.U. On the contrary, the convention was swamped with messages from the Communist-ruled W.F.T.U. and W.F.T.U. affiliates.

The convention bitterly denounced U.S. retention of Okinawa, demanded that the U.S. be ousted from bases in Japan, and called for the overthrow of the Hatoyama government. And after a long and vague report by Secretary Minoru Takano and some criticism of his work, the final day saw the dramatic vote wherein, on the first ballot, Takano got 123 votes and Akira Iwai 128—with eight ballots re-

turned blank. Under Sohyo's constitution a second ballot was indicated, but Takano resigned in favor of Iwai. Thus the Left Socialist Party and its friends in Sohyo had seemingly won victory.

Takano, with a substantial political following in the local unions and on the district level, was by no means ousted from control of the mighty political weapon which he had so carefully helped forge. On August 16 the officials of Sohyo met to elect the man who would run the staff headquarters of Sohyo. The Iwai-Ohta faction fought with the Takano group for two bitter days and finally—after Iwai had said it would never happen—Minoru Takano was made chief of the organization department of Sohyo. In addition, friends and supporters of Takano hold the youth and women's sections and the posts of international relations, investigation and Diet struggle activities.

Thus the Iwai faction, which has grasped Sohyo leadership and pledged far more Sohyo support to the Left Socialist Party, is faced by the fact that Leninist-wise Minoru Takano has secured, under their noses, the levers of power. His post permits him to roam the country as he builds up positions of strength at the bottom of Sohyo with the aid of the Communist-infiltrated youth and women's sections of the local and district organizations.

Akira Iwai, a young railway engineer who joined the union at the age of 26, is now 35. He has been ousted from his rail job because he helped illegal strike activities a few years ago. A fine and robust man of jolly character, he (Continued on Page 29)

The Great Rise in Profits

By SEYMOUR BRANDWEIN

A. F. of L. Staff Economist

CORPORATE profits jumped tremendously in the first half of this year. It was assumed that profits would rise somewhat with the general improvement in economic activity, but the rise has run far ahead of reasonable expectations.

The huge increase is particularly remarkable because it has been achieved, not in comparison with some poor profit year, but on top of a steady succession of excellent profit periods.

The year 1953 was a banner one for profits despite a sharp drop when business contracted in the late months of the year. Then, even though the recession continued through the first half of 1954, many companies, particularly the large ones, upped their after-tax profits over the 1953 level, in part because of the elimination of the tax on excess profits.

And now 1955 profits are way up above the level of both those years. For many corporations profits have been boosted to their highest point in history. As the magazine *Business Week* puts it in summarizing the 1955 midyear financial reports, the word "record" for profits is "more and more commonplace."

The extent of this profit upsurge is well reflected in tabulations made by the First National City Bank of New York. The 1955 half-year financial reports of 737 leading corporations, the bank found, show an increase in aggregate net profits over the same period in 1954 of 31 per cent.

As always, there are wide variations from company to company, with some firms even reporting a dip in profits, but the over-all profits rise this year has been unusually widespread and not confined to a relatively few companies. The bank's tabulations show that four of every five companies increased profits over their 1954 level.

Probably the most significant advances were chalked up in the steel and auto industries. The bank's tally of financial statements of thirty-seven



MR. BRANDWEIN

iron and steel companies shows a profit rise of 74 per cent. In auto manufacturing the combined profits of seven leading companies rose 65 per cent. The railroad industry also has come up with a whopping increase. The profits of forty-six railroad firms increased some 77 per cent, the bank reports.

Looking to individual companies, some of the most remarkable 1955 profit jumps have been recorded by the largest giants of industry. Profits after taxes in the first half of the year for the General Motors Corporation, for example, reached the almost unbelievable total of \$661,000,000. This is 55 per cent more than in the same period of 1954 and fully 111 per cent larger than in the equivalent period in 1953.

For the giant of the steel industry, the United States Steel Corporation, profits were upped some 90 per cent over the comparable 1954 period.

The table on the next page lists the profit gains made by other well-known large corporations.

Data on total profits in the economy as a whole are not yet available, but preliminary estimates by the gov-

ernment's Council of Economic Advisers declare that profits in the second quarter of this year were running at an annual rate of \$42.5 billion before taxes and \$21.2 billion after taxes. This is roughly 25 per cent higher than in the same period last year and is a far higher rate than at any other time since the boom months early in the Korean War period.

The best year of all time for profits after taxes was 1950. That was the year in which industry capitalized on the Korean War situation. When demand soared because of the war-induced scare buying and expanded military expenditures, industry raised prices steeply even though its costs had not risen proportionately. And the resulting huge profits were taxed only at the low pre-Korean War rates. Total profits after taxes amounted to \$22.1 billion that year.

In 1951 corporate earnings before taxes rose to an even steeper high, \$41.2 billion, but wartime tax rates reduced the after-tax profits to a lower level than in 1950.

The 1955 totals may top these war-year highs, but even if the returns for the entire year should show profits running only a close second to the 1950-51 records, it should be remembered that current profit totals are actually understated by comparison with the earlier years.

The understatement is due to the acceleration of charges for depreciation. Many companies handling defense-connected work are permitted to charge off the cost of plants and equipment in an especially short time, rather than over the normal life of the plants and equipment, as is usual. And changes adopted in the 1954 tax laws also now permit all companies to charge off depreciation expenses on new equipment at a faster rate than had been allowable in the past.

This has the effect of increasing the expense totals currently recorded on the financial statements, with a

corresponding artificial reduction in stated profits. If depreciation today were to be carried on the same basis as in 1950, current profit figures probably would be at least a billion dollars more, and clearly larger than at any time in the past.

With the stepped-up 1955 profits have come record payments to stockholders, who will, as a group, probably receive more than in any other year. All told, dividends should climb to more than \$10.6 billion this year, that is, some \$600 million more than last year, which itself had been a record year for payments to stockholders.

These payments are, of course, in addition to the gains stockholders have made through the rise in the value of their stockholdings. In addition, dividends are worth more for stockholders than in the past because of the special tax exemption enacted last year for part of income from dividends.

Most businessmen say profits will continue to rise. A survey of more than a thousand executives conducted at midyear by Dun and Bradstreet reports that almost two-thirds anticipate that their businesses will earn larger profits in the final quarter of this year than in the same quarter last year. Most of the remainder think that their profits may be about the same, and only six per cent foresee lower profits.

It is noteworthy that the booming profits are significant for the tax considerations of Congress next year. Industry has been seeking a cutback in corporate tax rates and has been hopeful that this may be achieved in 1956. The sharp rise in profits after taxes makes it doubly evident, however, that if the government is at all in a position to reduce taxes next year, priority should be given to reduction in personal income taxes on low-income families, and not in the levy on thriving corporations.

WHY are profits increasing so greatly? The answer lies both in the upswing in consumer purchases and in the steady and substantial advances in industrial productivity.

CORPORATE PROFITS

(Billions of dollars)

	Before Taxes	After Taxes
1939	6.4	5.0
1946	22.6	13.4
1947	29.5	18.2
1948	32.8	20.3
1949	26.2	15.8
1950	40.0	22.1
1951	41.2	18.7
1952	35.9	16.1
1953	38.3	17.0
1954	34.0	17.0

Quarterly data¹

1954:

1st quarter	32.7	16.3
2nd quarter	33.7	16.8
3rd quarter	33.5	16.7
4th quarter	36.0	17.9

1955:

1st quarter	40.9	20.4
2nd quarter	42.5 ²	21.2 ²

¹ Seasonally adjusted annual rates.

² Preliminary estimate by Council of Economic Advisers.

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce.

At the prices being charged in early 1955, most of industry would have been able to make a handsome profit even without any increase in sales. But the rise in consumer expenditures through the first half of the year, plus the continuing marked improvement in productivity—with no reductions in prices—has enabled industry to raise its profits spectacularly.

According to the findings of the First National City Bank's analysis,

PROFIT INCREASES IN 1955

Percent Increase in Net Profit
First Half of 1955
Over First Half of

	1954	1953
Aluminum Co. of America	87%	33%
American Smelting & Refining	70	80
Anaconda Copper	129	79
Bethlehem Steel	41	38
DuPont	23	62
Eastman Kodak	29	61
General Electric	9	35
General Motors	55	111
Goodrich	22	32
Gulf Oil	14	21
International Business Machines	11	53
International Paper	19	35
Pittsburgh Plate Glass	93	57
Standard Oil of New Jersey	17	28
Union Carbide & Carbon	52	21
United States Rubber	32	32
United States Steel	90	69

506 leading manufacturing corporations were able, in the first half of this year, to translate a 13 per cent rise in receipts from sales into a 30 per cent increase in profits.

It is appropriate that a rise in business activity should mean larger profits for industry. But profits have done more than keep pace with the growth of the economy this year. They have spurted way ahead of the improvements in production, sales, wages and other measures of economic activity. There is danger that, by far outstripping increases in other sectors of the economy, they may create an imbalance and impede proper growth.

Rising profits can be sound and desirable for the economy as a whole if they result from increased sales rather than from a higher profit per sale. Unfortunately, a major part of the present rise in profits is due to the fact that industry is taking a larger share of the consumer dollar. The analysis of the leading manufacturing corporations' operations found that their profits per dollar of sales were raised from 6.9 per cent in 1954 to 7.9 per cent in 1955.

THIS is why the extraordinary rise in profits in the first half of this year has such serious implications. A disproportionate share of the gains from advances in productivity and the economies flowing from increased sales volume is being diverted to profits instead of being shared fully with the wage-earners and the consuming public in general.

This can be a dangerously shortsighted policy. If industry does not share the benefits of increasing efficiency more equitably with wage-earners and other consumers, it may injure the nation's economic health as well as industry's own long-run profit prospects.

The well-being of the nation as a whole and of industry itself depends on a continuing and balanced growth of all parts of the economy. Substantial wage increases must be provided to workers to expand their purchasing power and thereby provide a growing sales market for industry's products. Industry must

also demonstrate restraint on the price front and refrain from seeking only to maximize current profits. It must withstand the temptation to raise prices merely because consumers may appear ready to pay more. And it

should take positive steps to reduce prices wherever possible as a means of strengthening consumer buying power.

Only if the wage-earners and the farmers of America and our other con-

sumer groups are thus enabled to prosper along with business can business count on the type of economic expansion which is necessary for continued nationwide, as well as corporate, prosperity.

Disability Insurance in 1956

By **NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK**

Director, A. F. of L. Social Insurance Activities

IN THE closing days of the first session of the Eighty-fourth Congress, the House of Representatives, by the smashing majority of 372 to 31, passed H.R. 7225. This bill, which will be before the Senate when sessions are resumed, contains a number of significant improvements in our social security system. The most important part of the bill is that which would provide cash disability benefits for permanently and totally disabled workers aged 50 and over. The American Federation of Labor has urged the inauguration of such a program for more than ten years.

The provisions of H.R. 7225 are modest. For example, a worker could not be eligible for disability payments until he reached 50 years of age. Under the A. F. of L. proposal, benefits would be paid at any age. Moreover, under the bill the worker, to be eligible for benefits, would have to have a record of work over a considerable period of time, including most of the quarters just prior to his disablement. In addition, there is a waiting period of six months. Under these conditions it would be highly unprofitable for any worker to claim a disability that did not actually exist. In our opinion these conditions are more strict than they need to be, but perhaps that is the only way we can ever get the program started.

Limited as this program is, it merits labor's support since, once it is undertaken, the advantage of the social insurance approach over the present assistance or relief approach to the problem will be demonstrated. The Social Security Administration and

the rehabilitation agencies will be able gradually to assume the burdens of administration and services required of a more adequate program.

The American Medical Association has already launched an all-out campaign to defeat the program in the Senate. The A.M.A. has engaged another big public relations firm to dust off the old "socialized medicine" scare. There are many on Capitol Hill, however, who feel the A.M.A. has cried "Wolf! Wolf! Socialized wolf!" too often to be as effective as in times past.

WHEN a worker becomes totally disabled for a protracted period, his earnings losses are usually not compensated from any source. Nevertheless, the costs are often greater than the costs associated with old age or death. In addition to the usual living expenses, the family must bear the burden of medical care often required by a disabled individual, such as diagnosis, treatment, drugs and hospitalization. Generally, the family must adopt a lower standard of living, and in many cases the family ultimately becomes dependent on relief.

A substantial proportion of all destitution is accompanied by and apparently results from disablement of the family breadwinner. For this reason, the added social security contributions which would be needed to finance a disability insurance program would not represent entirely new costs for workers and employers. The costs of extended disability already rest to some extent upon the nation's taxpayers through private

support given to needy relatives and friends, as well as in the form of publicly financed assistance and institutional care.

In 1949 the House of Representatives accepted the recommendation of the majority of the Senate Advisory Council and included in the amendments to the Social Security Act a provision for the payment of benefits to the long-term disabled. This was not accepted by the Senate. In 1950 the Senate substituted the recommendations of the commercial insurance and the Chamber of Commerce representatives on the Advisory Council which attempted to meet the problem by adding another category of need recognized under the federal-state public assistance program.

Regardless of what one's judgment might be about the success of this program where it has been tried, it is an obvious failure in the following nine jurisdictions where the states have completely failed to carry out the state end of a federal-state partnership:

Alaska	Indiana	Nebraska
Arizona	Iowa	Nevada
California	Kentucky	Texas

Among the states having a program for the permanently disabled, the conditions of eligibility and the adequacy of the help vary widely, reflecting the financial conditions of the state and the relative strength of the liberal organizations among the voting population more than the need of the recipients. In January, 1955, for example, the average money payment paid to a disabled individual varied between \$37.01 in North Carolina to \$103.36

in Connecticut. In addition, the average vendor payment for medical care in North Carolina that month was 52 cents, while in Connecticut it was \$18.

THIS disability relief program by its nature must be considered a stopgap or, at best, a supplemental program. It can never be an effective substitute for disability insurance. Relief can never do the effective job of conserving the disabled individual's material and spiritual resources that can be done through insurance. Aid cannot be given until at least the material resources have been exhausted. Insurance, on the other hand, can act quickly and effectively to afford economic protection to the individual and his family and, better, it can open up all avenues for his rehabilitation.

The lack of a disability insurance program may also create pressures which are dangerous to old-age and survivors' insurance. The continued failure of our government to provide for a general income-maintenance program for disabled people at large, particularly those who become disabled in later life, may gradually force upon us the lowering of the retirement age. If this happens, it will not be because people in general wish to retire earlier—the contrary is being proven all the time by opinion surveys of the retired. It will be due to the pressure of an increasing number of disabled persons, especially in the upper age groups, many of whom are not now deriving any benefit during their lifetime from the contributions that they have paid to the social security fund during the period of their covered employment.

We know from a constant flow of complaints coming in to us that people in this unenviable category feel that they ought to get a fairer deal—if not retirement benefits on account of disability, then at least an early "old-age" benefit.

To meet their very real need in such a roundabout way, by enabling all persons to retire at an earlier age, would not only cost a great deal more than the direct approach of providing disability benefits but it would run counter to the best interests of the nation as a whole.

The 1954 social security amendments included a timorous, halting step forward in meeting this problem. Under the new law a person who has

earned retirement rights under OASI will no longer have those rights diminished or destroyed by reason of a period of disability. The really significant gain in these amendments was not the so-called "freeze" of benefit rights but the fact that in its adoption the precedent for the determination of disability under terms of a federal program was established and provision was made for rehabilitation services.

ONE of the arguments most frequently advanced against a federally operated disability insurance program consists of an appeal to the myth that the federal government is incapable of administering such a program. I say this is a myth because the plain fact is that we are now operating in this country a number of federal programs providing insurance against the risk of disability.

Two of them are workmen's compensation programs, insuring federal employees and workers in certain private maritime employment against job-connected accident and illness. Our armed forces benefit program provides disability protection for all its members. Our veterans' program provides disability pensions for veterans of our major wars in all service-connected and—under certain condi-

tions—non-service-connected disabilities. Our civil service retirement system offers employees of the federal government, other than those in temporary status, insurance protection in case of disabling illness or accident. Finally, our railroad retirement system is providing insurance protection against disability to well over a million workers in that industry.

The very fact that this is not generally known is some indication that the programs are being satisfactorily administered, for it has been my observation that the press and radio in this country have never hesitated to publicize the shortcomings of any governmentally operated social program.

Don't be deceived by the size of the majority in favor of H.R. 7225 in the House. The opposition forces are preparing for an all-out effort in the Senate.

Since disability protection has been supported by the Congress of Industrial Organizations for as long a time as by the A. F. of L., it is to be expected that after next year the newly merged organization will give added impetus to its support. The fight for adding disability protection to social security may well be the first major test of organized labor's new strength in 1956.

To Keep Our Freedom

SPEAKING at the Labor Day celebration in Galesburg, Illinois, International Representative Lee Chapman of the Machinists said:

"To protect and assure our present standards, the formerly divided labor movement will soon consolidate. We are proud that our unions have reached that state of adulthood where they can set childish thinking aside and merge into one great and solid body.

"The coming merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations has caused some apprehension among the industrialists of our country. The very elements of our society which for more than a century have exploited the workers and abused their power and privileges now accuse the labor movement of wanting to do that which they and their proteges did without remorse for so long.

"Little fear need be directed at the merger of labor. Labor wants nothing but that which is good for all."

Mr. Chapman urged all trade unionists to become more active in their respective organizations. He placed particular emphasis on attendance at union meetings.

If collective bargaining continues to function well, the speaker told his audience, freedom will be preserved.

"So long as labor and industry, working together, can provide the American worker his standard of living," Mr. Chapman said, "the Communist holds nothing of interest and has but little chance of getting a foothold within our unions. The American worker will get his requirements through collective bargaining, and therefore so long as collective bargaining does not break down or is not denied, we may have no fear of losing our freedom."

We Can't Stay Out of Politics

By JAMES L. McDEVITT

Director, Labor's League for Political Education

I KNOW the law [Taft-Hartley] might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. And neither do I."

Those words were spoken by Candidate Eisenhower in his address before the American Federation of Labor convention in 1952. By way of reaffirming his friendship for the working man, just before the Presidential election, November 1, 1952, Mr. Eisenhower stated:

"I pledge that I will support and strengthen, not weaken, the laws that protect the American worker. I will defend him against any action to destroy his union or his rights."

At the time of his inauguration on January 20, 1953, the working men and women of our country held high hopes that Mr. Eisenhower would exhibit the necessary courage and wisdom to rise above the reactionaries in his own party and provide our nation with the dynamic leadership which would bring an increasingly higher standard of living to its people.

Unfortunately, the working people of our country now realize that their aspirations for a fuller and more dignified way of life can never be achieved as long as the present Administration is in power.

The Eisenhower Administration has referred to its legislative program as one of "progressive moderation." The program has succeeded only in cheapening the word "progressive."

From the viewpoint of organized labor, the foremost achievement of the recent session of the Eighty-fourth Congress was the increase in the minimum wage to \$1. This in itself was ridiculously inadequate, yet Mr. Eisenhower persistently maintained that 90 cents was enough. He called it "a nice, round figure." Many workers in low-paid fields with a wife and children would like to see him try to live on 90 cents an hour. So the one substantial gain achieved by labor during the 1955 session of the



MR. McDEVITT

Eighty-fourth Congress was accomplished over the strenuous objections of the man who, the day before his election, piously proclaimed that he would "strengthen, not weaken, the laws that protect the American worker."

One thing we working people value above all others is a man's word. Our stock in the President's word dipped to zero after his backtracking exhibition on the matter of expanded coverage of the minimum wage.

On April 14, Labor Secretary Mitchell told the Senate Labor Committee that he knew of "no sound reason" why the minimum wage shouldn't be extended to employees of interstate chain stores, hotels, motion picture theaters and others (about 2,000,000 in all).

On April 27, the President told his news conference that bringing more workers under minimum wage protection was more important than raising the minimum itself. "We would like to see a spread rather than just the rise," said Mr. Eisenhower. It was then that the Big Business boys went to town on the working people. The result of their maneuvering was

that on May 18, Stuart Rothman, the solicitor of the Labor Department, told the Senate Labor Committee that it had "misunderstood" Messrs. Eisenhower and Mitchell. We really didn't specifically recommend extended coverage, said Rothman; we merely asked Congress "to study the entire thing."

This outright distortion of the truth angered Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, who was heading the subcommittee. But the Illinois Democrat really blew his top two months later. That was on July 21, after both houses had approved the \$1 increase, when Secretary Mitchell stated that the Administration had favored expanded coverage all along, and added that Congress' failure to expand it was "to be deplored."

Douglas accused the Secretary of "speaking out of both sides of his mouth." The Senator shouldn't be too harsh on poor Mr. Mitchell, for the ability to speak out of both sides of one's mouth seems to be the most important quality that a member of "Ike's team" must possess.

Labor and housing experts have said that 135,000 public housing, low-rent structures per year for the next six years are the minimum necessary to enable millions of American families to escape the slums and live in dignity with their loved ones. Mr. Eisenhower's idea of "progressive moderation" was to call for a ridiculously low 35,000 units for next year. Evidently, the President not only considers 90 cents "a nice, round figure," but his friend, Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, must have convinced him that the slums aren't such a bad place to live in after all.

The President labeled proposed tax cuts for the little fellow as "irresponsible." Yet in the Eighty-third Congress he had given his blessing to enormous tax cuts for Big Business, indicating with a straight face that these benefits would eventually "trickle down" to the working people.

In an effort to impress the people, this Administration is constantly citing statistics to prove to us that our economy is the most prosperous in the history of the country. Certainly, it cannot be disputed that corporation profits are at an all-time high. But I think Mr. Eisenhower would have a hard time convincing the people of Lawrence, Massachusetts, or Altoona, Pennsylvania, or any one of the other areas of "substantial labor surpluses" that we are living in prosperous times.

As far as those people are concerned, the only difference between today and the early 1930s is that it is Mr. Eisenhower, instead of Mr. Hoover, telling them that everything is going to be okay if we just leave it up to Big Business. Another difference between these two gentlemen is that the bankers' press has succeeded in covering up Eisenhower's lack of understanding where it failed in attempting to smooth over Herbert Hoover's blunders.

THE President said in his campaignatory that he would never support a union-busting law. Yet he has made no move to use his great influence to obtain repeal of Section 14-B of Taft-Hartley, under which "right to work" laws have been enacted in eighteen states. If he made the request, his party could not turn him down because of the great number of Republican Congressmen who cannot be reelected next year without his aid. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Eisenhower has not acted on Section 14-B because he does not want to act.

More and more decisions are being made by the President's subordinates, especially his Cabinet members. And what kind of people are they who compose Eisenhower's Cabinet? Let's look at their records.

Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, who publicly cries about the large debt inherited from the Democrats, and then turns around and raises interest rates which add to the public debt and to the bankers' wallets—and also pleads for a higher limit on that debt!

Secretary of Defense Charlie Wilson, who compares working people with kennel dogs.

Ex-Secretary of the Air Force Harold Talbott, who just couldn't understand why it was wrong for him

to use his high government position to fatten his personal bank account. In a way, Talbott's confusion over right and wrong is understandable. He's probably wondering why, if what he did was so bad, he was given the country's highest civilian award and a full-dress air display in honor of the "good work" he did while in office.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who has reversed himself repeatedly on foreign policy.

Oveta Culp Hobby, ex-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who believes in little health, hardly any education and positively no welfare. Her fantastic mishandling of the Salk polio vaccine has been one of the tragedies of our time.

Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, who is an announced foe of the "family farm." He thinks the nation's agricultural economy should consist strictly of the large corporate farms. There are two types of farmers—the Wall Street farmer and the man who operates his own farm. Benson typifies the guiding philosophy of the Eisenhower Administration of a balanced budget over human beings.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell. Eight days after his assistant, Warren Olney III, had testified that it was "almost impossible, certainly impractical" to prosecute unions under the Taft-Hartley ban on their political activities, Brownell recommended that the ban be retained. Senator Hennings of Missouri, who was chairman of the subcommittee before which Olney testified, stated: "I am personally distressed to discover now that the Attorney General is apparently attempting to rewrite testimony given before our subcommittee by a representative of the Justice Department and to torture and subvert Mr. Olney's conclusions and observation."

One of Mr. Brownell's contributions to Mr. Eisenhower's Big Business Administration was in the form of his recent indictment of the C.I.O. for its aid in electing labor-minded Pat McNamara of Michigan to the Senate in 1954.

Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay, whose automobile agency in Salem, Oregon, was picketed by the Machinists and who recently placed an advertisement in a Salem paper requesting scabs to work for his

agency, telling them they could expect "top earnings."

The record of the remainder of "Ike's team"—his National Labor Relations Board appointees who are so effectively "tightening up" the Taft-Hartley Law, his Securities and Exchange Commission appointees who tried to undermine the Tennessee Valley Authority with the back-room Dixon-Yates deal, and the rest of his Wall Street buddies—is too lengthy to tell in one short article. To record the plunder that has taken place would necessitate several volumes. The job of organized labor is not only to talk about this economic plunder of our people but to do something about it.

ANY fellow who thinks we can better ourselves by staying out of politics is talking the way the N.A.M. wants him to talk. In 1947 the membership of the A. F. of L. had climbed to 7,600,000 workers, the greatest in our history. Yet, despite our strength, the infamous Taft-Hartley Act was passed that year. How did this happen? That's easy. We had strength—but we didn't use it. Too many talked, and too few acted. As a result, we're paying through the nose in 1955 for our disinterest in the elections of 1946 and 1952.

It's not only ourselves that we're hurting. The older folks aren't being helped because the current Administration doesn't believe in expanding social security any more than it has to. Our children are hurt because those needed classrooms aren't getting built. Senator Hill's bill allotting "tidelands" oil money would have done the trick, but that revenue had been promised to the oil-millionaire friends who helped elect Mr. Eisenhower.

You can do your part in bringing men back to government who don't believe that helping the little fellow is "socialism." Look in your wallet. If you find an L.L.P.E. card there, that means you have contributed your dollar for a better America in which to raise your children. If you haven't contributed, send that dollar in to Labor's League for Political Education today.

It's not a contribution—it's an investment. An investment in the future of your union, your family and a better America.

It's the best insurance in the world!

Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

School Days

ALMOST 40,000,000 American children started back to school in September under conditions which are a disgrace to our country. In some communities overcrowding was so bad that class attendance had to be put on a double-shift basis, with the children getting only a half-day's schooling. In others, vacant firehouses, garage sheds, gymnasiums and even coal bins had to be pressed into service as classrooms to make up for an aggregate shortage throughout the nation of an estimated 340,000 rooms.

An acute teacher shortage aggravated the lack of decent, safe school facilities. According to official estimates, the supply of qualified teachers this year is about 150,000 under the need. And there is no immediate prospect of making up this deficit as long as impoverished school budgets continue and the standards of the teaching profession are held down so low that qualified persons seek more remunerative occupations.

In the face of this national emergency, what is the Administration doing? It has called a national conference to consider the problem in November.

It has been apparent to the American Federation of Labor for a long time that the educational emergency has passed beyond the conference stage. Action is the only solution. Within the next ten years the school population is expected to grow by more than 11,000,000. We must get started immediately, not only to meet the present crisis but to prepare for future needs.

The job to be done is so big that the states and communities cannot be counted upon to shoulder the full responsibility. In many areas they just don't have and can't raise the money.

The school crisis has become so widespread that it truly constitutes a national problem, requiring federal action.

What stands in the way of the federal government moving into this vital field boldly and courageously? Only two feeble and unsound arguments have been raised against an effective program of federal aid to education. The first is "economy" and the second a vague fear that the federal authorities will attempt to take over control of the schools.

In answer to the first argument, it should be obvious that skimping on the education of the nation's children—its greatest asset for the future—would be the height of false economy. The second objection can be met by provisions assuring that administration of the school systems, even when aided by federal funds, shall remain completely in the hands of local authorities.

When Congress reconvenes in January, the American Federation of Labor will urge that legislation providing a broad and effective program of federal aid to education be made its first order of business.

After the Floods

THE RESPONSE of the American people to the call for help to the unfortunate victims of the recent floods has been heart-warming. The trade union movement, as usual, rose to the occasion with substantial contributions to relief funds and with generous assistance to the laborious job of repair and rehabilitation of homes and business enterprises.

Before the enthusiasm to pitch in abates, it would be a good time to consider how to prevent further catastrophes of this kind and to protect individuals and industry from bankruptcy if havoc strikes again.

The construction of dams and other projects to protect communities from flood damage is a must.

This should be undertaken as part of a nationwide program with the assistance of federal loans and grants. Furthermore, Congress should enact a disaster insurance program, which could easily be self-sustaining. Finally, consideration should be given to extension of the tax write-off privileges,

now accorded some industries, to individuals and corporations whose homes and factories are damaged or destroyed by flood or hurricane. This would encourage them to build anew promptly and prevent ghost towns and abandoned industries in the areas hardest hit.

The Cold War Against Labor

By MARY E. RYDER

WAR hot or cold is a dreadful thing to contemplate. Hot war is the most costly both in life and money, but cold war is also quite devastating. Cold war creates a cruel nervous tension among men and nations that eventually takes its toll.

There is a war of whose existence many are not conscious. This is a cold war that is being waged against labor by Big Business. It is being pursued as coldly and insidiously as the cold war waged by the enemies of our government.

The war against labor is not a new war. It has only increased in intensity. It is financed by Big Business, the arch-foe of organized labor. The weapons employed against labor are the Taft-Hartley Act, the so-called "right to work" laws, injunctions, the loading of the National Labor Relations Board with men known to be prejudiced in favor of Big Business. These are just a few of the weapons being used in the cold war against labor. Unemployment, that dreaded specter, is also an excellent instrument to use in the cold war against organized labor.

How is labor mobilizing its forces to fight this war? We have only a few weapons. One is our purchasing power, our economic weapon. The other is our political strength.

The Union Label and Service Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is trying to teach trade unionists and their families to use purchasing power as a defense against our enemies. Labor's League for Political Education is trying to teach us to use our other weapon, our political strength, to defeat labor's enemies. How is labor's defensive program progressing?

To begin with, most of the training of those who are in possession

Mrs. Ryder has been active and has held many honors over a long period in the organized labor movement of St. Louis. A delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Union for three decades, she was acting president of that body at one time. Mrs. Ryder has played a notable part in the International Typographical Union for half a century. When she addressed the 1953 convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Meany in introducing her said: "She is known as the 'Mother Jones' of St. Louis."

of the economic weapon has been neglected. Our union-made money is in the hands of a vast army of women. These women have not yet been effectively organized or trained to use purchasing power with as deadly precision as it could be used. And it would require no firearms, no atom bombs, no taking of life, but just plain horse sense. Our economic weapon—spending union-made money only for union-made goods and union-performed services—would accomplish more than any other defensive instrument we could use.

Then let us have a look at our political weapon. How are we using it? Not too well, if we judge by the way large numbers of members of the national and state legislatures consistently vote to take from us our hard-earned gains. The votes of these lawmakers prove they are not our friends. Since unfriendly legislators are numerous, we must conclude that we are not using our political weapon effectively. Working people are not yet mobilized or trained as voters.

Do we expect L.L.P.E. to combat the heavily financed political campaigns of labor's enemies? In 1952 one wealthy family alone contributed \$84,000 to help elect those who are unfriendly to labor. In that year millions of dollars were spent to elect many who are opposed to labor. We

seem to be unable to get some of our rank and file to give just one dollar to try to keep our friends in national and state legislative bodies.

Apathy and indifference of union members give our enemies great comfort. They also derive satisfaction from our inability to get our membership to attend meetings.

When we look around and see how few of the members of some of our greatest unions, which have accomplished so much for their members, are attending their unions' meetings, we who are real soldiers know that our army is not ready for the struggle. We do not have enough soldiers fit for duty when such apathy and indifference prevail. We had better issue a clarion call for real soldiers to fight a real war, not an imaginary one. The war is on against organized labor. Volunteers and recruits are needed on our side.

Is our great trade union movement worth the battle? We believe it is. We believe the principles enunciated by the American Federation of Labor are sound and will serve to save not only our government but our trade unions also.

So let us quit sabotaging by our own actions the only weapons we have. Let us use our union money for union-made goods and union services. Let us use our political weapon intelligently so we can elect our friends and defeat our enemies. Let us fight our war with ballots and purchasing power. Let us use our union-earned money for the services and goods of union members. This is the way to keep union workers employed and our unions strong.

We are in a hard fight. We can win. We can win with our economic and political weapons if we will but strengthen them and use them intelligently and all the time.

Jewish Labor in the U.S.

Its History and Contributions to American Life

By WILL HERBERG

THE Jewish labor movement arose in this country some seventy-five years ago as a movement of recent immigrants who found themselves alone, helpless and bewildered in a new world. And yet, surprisingly, in this land of great surprises, before many decades had passed, this movement emerged as a thoroughly American institution, a pioneer in modern industrial relations and a powerful force in the Americanization of the scores of thousands of immigrant Jews who passed through its ranks. The Jewish labor movement became one of the most influential institutions in American Jewish life and a significant factor in linking American Jews with the larger community in which they found themselves.

As we look back upon 300 years of Jewish life in this country, we catch something of a glimpse of what the Jewish labor movement has meant to the Jewish working people of America, to the American labor movement and to the American nation generally.

The Jewish labor movement in the United States was a product of the "new" immigration that brought millions of East European Jews to American shores within a few decades after 1870. Jews had, of course, reached the New World long before, and in the early part of the Nineteenth Century they had begun to arrive in considerable numbers. But, although individuals from the earlier immigration came to play a distinguished role in it, the foundations of the Jewish labor movement were laid by the East Europeans who came to this country during the last three decades of the Nineteenth Century and the first two or three decades of the Twentieth Century.

These Jewish immigrants were predominantly town dwellers, a big proportion having been employed as artisans or laborers. Most of them landed at New York and either remained there or moved on to other large cities. The great majority tended to gravitate toward occupa-

tions involved in the production of consumer goods and services. They sought work in fields where friends and fellow-countrymen were already employed, and before long a number of "Jewish trades" began to appear. Some of these were closely connected with traditional Jewish religious observances and immigrant culture; others beckoned the Jews by reason of their previous training and handicraft skills.

At any rate, as the Nineteenth Century was drawing to a close, the great mass of recent Jewish immigrants were to be found in various trades in half a dozen large cities of the country. By 1890, over 13,000 Jews were employed in the garment trades on the East Side of New York, and their numbers increased by leaps and bounds in the course of the next two decades.

THE conditions under which the recent immigrants worked were indescribably bad. Low wages, long hours, protracted slack seasons, home work, contracting and subcontracting, and absence of even the most elementary safeguards of health and decency made the garment trades notorious and added the term "sweatshop" to the common vocabulary. Attempts at organization began almost at once, inspired in part by young intellectuals among the immigrants.

The Jewish workers, at the beginning, did not prove particularly organizable; indeed, there were those who predicted that they would never be organized at all. They were easily aroused, quick to strike, enthusiastic and determined, ready to join a union in the heat of struggle; but once the strike was over, no matter what the outcome, very few retained any interest in organization. It was a most discouraging time for those who saw farther into the future and realized that without stable labor organization nothing could be accomplished.

But the young labor-minded agitators did not despair. Workers' edu-

cational and cultural societies arose, and by 1885 a Jewish Workers Union was established, which definitely set about organizing the masses of Jewish workers. The older German labor men played an important part in this pioneer venture.

It was on the model of the United German Trades, one of a number of "national" foreign-language labor federations to spring up in the United States in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, that the first of the really enduring Jewish labor organization was formed. In October, 1888, in New York City, the United Hebrew Trades came into being under the leadership of Bernard Weinstein, Jacob Magidoff, Morris Hillquit and Henry Miller, and with the direct assistance of Samuel Gompers. The new group declared its main purpose to be the organization of immigrant Jewish workers into unions. The United Hebrew Trades had only three affiliates at the time of its formation, but it grew rapidly and within four years had twenty-eight member unions, mostly organized through its own efforts.

The establishment of the United Hebrew Trades brought to the fore a problem that gave some concern to American labor leaders, Jewish and non-Jewish alike—the problem of whether it was right and proper to organize "separate" Jewish unions. Samuel Gompers, who in general did not believe in organizing workers along any but trade lines, wisely saw that (as he put it) "to organize Hebrew trade unions was the first step in getting those immigrants into the American labor movement." In the long run, Gompers proved right. The Jewish unions were indeed the first step in bringing the immigrant Jewish workers into the American labor movement and into the larger American community.

It now became possible to set up national organizations in the various trades. In 1891 the United Garment Workers Union was established in the men's clothing industry. In 1900

the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union came into being. A year later the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers Union held its founding national convention, and by 1904 a national furriers' union was in existence. These organizations, and the smaller unions that followed in their wake, led a precarious life for a long time, compelled to fight for survival year after year; but in the end they prevailed and became established institutions with wide influence in their industries and beyond.

It should be remembered that these trade union organizations were not the first to be formed by Jewish workers in America. In line with European traditions, the first organizations that came into being were radical educational and political groups, which were then felt by many to be the "real" labor movement, much superior to the humdrum trade unions with their limited goals and objectives.

The American labor movement, like the British, emerged as and remained typically a trade union movement; moreover, it developed from the bottom up, from the self-organization of groups of workers in their trades. Jewish trade unionism in the United States, on the other hand, was built from the top down, largely under the tutelage of ideological radicals who undertook the hard task of organizing workers as part of their radical program. But the realities of American life soon asserted themselves. The Jewish labor unions, whatever their origin, quickly adapted themselves to the general American pattern and became trade unions in the full American sense.

Before long they became the Jewish labor movement; indeed, of all the other organizations that once overshadowed the trade unions in the family of Jewish labor, only the Workmen's Circle, a labor fraternal society formed in 1892, has survived as a significant force, and the Workmen's Circle has always been closely connected with the Jewish unions.

The great advance in the Jewish labor movement in America came after 1905, in the wake of a sudden and sustained rise in immigration. All sorts of Jewish organizations flourished, but for the Jewish unions it was the period of spectacular

achievement. Great strikes punctuated the decade that preceded the First World War, particularly after the economic recovery of 1909. Indeed, the five years from 1909 to 1914 set off the greatest upsurge of trade unionism that Jewish labor in America was to experience until the New Deal.

First came the "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand," the memorable mass strike of the girls in the shirtwaist industry in New York in 1909; following hard upon it, the great revolt, a carefully organized general strike in the metropolitan coat and suit industry in 1910. Similar move-

ing economic crisis at the end of it.

Through the 1920s the Jewish unions were the scene of the best-planned and most nearly victorious drive for control on the part of the Communists that American labor history has to record. The Jewish labor organizations were, in the end, able to beat back the Communist offensive and save themselves from Communist control, but only after a long and bitter struggle that left them shattered and at the brink of ruin. However, the unions that escaped Communist entrapment have developed into some of the most respected and powerful labor organizations in this country.

The desperate fight against communism meant a great deal for the maturing of Jewish labor in this country. It brought the Jewish unions closer to the American labor movement; it helped dissipate much of the earlier ideological radicalism that had become irrelevant to American life; it encouraged a consolidation of loyal labor forces without regard to political background. But, above all, it made the Jewish labor leaders and active unionists very much aware of the Communist peril and very effective in fighting it.

The American labor movement and the American people generally owe a great deal to these men and women who were the first to bear the brunt of Communist infiltration and attack, and were likewise the first to alert the labor movement and the nation generally to the real meaning of communism.

Hardly had the Jewish labor movement emerged from the decade of devastating civil war when it was overwhelmed by the great depression. Even the strongest unions were seriously affected; for the garment unions, weak, demoralized and impoverished as they were, the depression proved disastrous. The Ladies' Garment Workers were reduced to a skeleton and other unions in the Jewish labor movement were in little better shape. But they resolutely refused to give up hope.

Efforts to regain lost ground began even before the New Deal, but it was the New Deal that really made the historical "rebirth" of unionism possible. Despite (Continued on Page 30)



The greatest American labor leader of Jewish origin was Sam Compers

ments in other industries and other parts of the country followed.

All in all, these years proved decisive not only in establishing the Jewish unions as a significant force in their industries but also in transforming the Jewish labor movement into a thoroughly American institution, operating along essentially American lines.

The Jewish labor movement emerged into the 1920s in many ways strengthened but compelled to face the two greatest perils in its history—the Communist onslaught throughout the decade and then the devastat-

THE BUSINESS AGENT'S JOB

By **LAWRENCE M. RAFTERY**

*President, Brotherhood of Painters,
Decorators and Paperhangers of America*

WHO keeps the local union ticking? Who does much of the union's day-to-day work? The answer seems quite clearly to be: the business agent.

In the language of the labor movement, the business agent is the man who sees to it that the boss lives up to his contract with the union. To that end he receives, investigates, checks out and settles complaints and grievances brought by the worker against his employer.

The business agent sees to it that the working conditions management has agreed to maintain are maintained, that there is no corner-cutting on hours, wages, overtime payment, vacations, holidays and benefits. He is a watchdog with a union card, a detective, a negotiator, a manipulator, a mediator and a peace-maker. He must be tough or mild, depending on the circumstance, moderate or aggressive. He is, in short, a sort of industrial Solomon—with-out all the wives.

In addition to the time-consuming and nerve-frazzling task of administering the union contract, the business agent must also ride herd on the employer in still another way. It's his job to see that state and federal laws covering workers are honored and implemented and that union members know their full rights under them.

But the business agent is more than an enforcement official, lawyer and policeman. He is also a man with a heart. Most of his job is concerned with people and their problems. If he is a link between union and management, he is also a link between individual worker and union. The business agent is a kind of *personal* personnel man.

Where there are people, there are problems, and it is the business agent's obligation to solve problems and to contain them before they be-

come causes. And not all the problems are strictly union problems or labor-management problems.

Another aspect of his task is to make sure that the individual worker performs his union duties, that he carries out his obligations, that he lives up to the contract, that he attends union meetings and that he works in harmony and without friction alongside his fellow employee.

The business agent seldom makes a public speech (though he may be an articulate special pleader on the floor of a shop or at a union meeting). He almost never gets his name in the newspapers. He is sometimes cordially hated by both worker and

management—caught as he is, unluckily, in the middle. He is occasionally a saint, occasionally a sinner. He makes no major decisions in terms of economic policy or national affairs.

He works long hours, is subject to the whims of his fellow union members and faces a daily routine of dispute, disagreement and diplomacy that would drive most men to drink or the psychiatrist's couch.

Yet the business agent has the satisfaction of seeing his activities produce results.

He is paid off in terms of the gratitude of people—when they remember to be grateful—and he is motivated by a belief in what he is doing and a feeling of identification with the union for which he labors.



MR. RAFTERY

A Time to Make Friends

JOHN H. DEYOUNG is the president of the Tri-City Federation of Labor (Moline and Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa). He writes a column of comment in the area's weekly labor newspaper. Excerpts from a recent column follow:

IT IS quite evident that all of those who have a sincere interest in the coming merger and those who have a proper foresight of all that this merger of union endeavor can accomplish are engaged in perfecting contacts and friendships with each other. Officers of our Tri-City A. F. of L. and our C.I.O. unions are to some degree now engaged in this. The same duty and urgent desire should be carried out and witnessed by individual members. Each one of you should be able to see the need of creating this friendly and cooperative contact.

There is no question but that each and every one of you know at least one member and probably more of the other organization. Can you think of any reason why you should not foster this friendly feeling? Naturally not.

All that labor has gained is certain to be held and maintained through

our new strength and determination. Thus, not too much could ever be said in behalf of the need of everyone participating in the intent of the merger. So let's each and everyone go to work on our present duties in this present situation. Get better acquainted with the A. F. of L. folks, if you are C.I.O.; with the C.I.O. folks, if you are A. F. of L. Get ready for the day when, with proper and sensible handling, the lot of the working man shall be made as agreeable as our own human nature will allow it to be.



GET YOUR CARD NOW

UNITY IS A NECESSITY

By **CLAUDE JODOIN**

President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

OUR convention this year was held rather earlier than usual, and it arrived at decisions which will shape the future of the organized labor movement in Canada for many years to come.

When one recalls that almost all of the legitimate labor movement of Canada developed in one way or another out of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, it is all the more significant that now there is such a strong and determined effort being made to reunite at least the major parts of that movement within the framework of one national congress.

And when our delegates gave President Mosher of the Canadian Congress of Labor a standing ovation following his address, it was apparent that the desires of our movement were for full and complete organic unity.

Naturally, some affiliated organizations have had some qualms about unity because they have been faced with certain difficulties which may be still unsolved. However, it now appears that all sections of our movement see in the possibilities of amalgamation far greater things and in this light are prepared to face their difficulties with confidence.

Unity is not only desirable but necessary.

It is desirable because we believe that we can solve our problems more successfully and proceed as trade unionists in the best interests of all of our membership much more effectively in this way. It is necessary because we face great problems and these problems seem much more likely of solution through our combined efforts than under conditions of division and possible misunderstanding.

One of these problems is unemployment. Business throughout Canada appears to be on the upgrade. With few exceptions, there seems to be a strong upswing in industrial and commercial activity.

Results of the year up to now and the prospects for the remaining months suggest that business levels

may turn out to be even higher than in any year in the past. This, however, is going on while unemployment remains unreasonably high. And we cannot escape the conclusion that the number of unemployed in Canada this coming winter will again be too great and of the most serious extent.

We have instructions from the convention to do all in our power to remedy this situation. We shall do so.

It is gratifying to note that a further conference of federal and provincial Ministers has been held to find a formula for the sharing of the costs of relief for those unemployed persons who are able to work but have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits.

This is an improvement over the traditional refusal on constitutional grounds by these responsible authorities to share such burdens. But it is not the solution to the unemployment problem which we can accept.

We will continue to press the federal authorities, and through our provincial federations the provinces, and through our trades councils the municipalities, for action which will produce work for the unemployed.

We are satisfied that better planning of public spending by the three levels of government and greater encouragement by them of those who are responsible for industrial and com-

mercial activity can produce more jobs and more continuity of employment throughout the year.

At the same time we are determined to press for the early implementation of a nationwide health insurance scheme. Here again, we will work with our provincial federations of labor in order that all provinces may soon reach agreement on this vital social security matter.

Our participation in matters of international affairs is becoming increasingly important and desirable. We hope to give more attention to this field of labor activity.

In all of these fields we hope to cooperate with our friends in the Canadian Congress of Labor, giving in this interim period the fullest possible meaning to unity even though the final touches have yet to be given to amalgamation of our two congresses.

There are those who feel, perhaps, that in amalgamation the great struggles and successes of this 82-year-old Trades and Labor Congress of Canada will be lost and forgotten. I am not one of those.

In my view, the amalgamation of labor in Canada will open up new avenues and opportunities for using the vast reservoir of experience and achievement of the Trades and Labor Congress and all of its affiliated organizations and memberships to the greater advantage of all.

Hear Edward Morgan

NEVER BEFORE has it been so essential for every citizen to know what is happening and what it really means. That is why you should listen to the news of the day as reported by Edward Morgan on the ABC network. Tune in his broadcasts and you will become one of the best-informed citizens in your community. By listening to him regularly you will acquire a great deal of highly significant information on public affairs. For good citizenship, tune in Morgan. And please tell your friends.

Ohio Labor Strides Ahead

By **MICHAEL J. LYDEN** and **PHIL HANNAH**
President and Secretary, Respectively, Ohio State Federation of Labor

THE labor movement of Ohio is a mature, alert, well-organized, respected and cogent agent in the over-all well-being of the citizens of our great industrial state.

In Ohio, the hub of the industrial Midwest, the labor movement has grown up and developed side by side with industry during the state's transition from a principally agricultural economy to that of a highly developed and interdependent industrial economy. We view with the utmost pride the achievements of our affiliated organizations in the mastering of the technological revolution of industry that has made U.S. productivity and the resulting standard of living the envy of the rest of the world.

The seventy-year history of the Ohio State Federation of Labor is richly embellished by economic, political, social and cultural accomplishments that have created an unswerving tradition of service in the interest of the common good. While many of these accomplishments have been wrought from the area of state legislation, there remain many others which were brought about by co-operative ventures of our affiliates in the many communities within our state.

It affords our State Federation of Labor much satisfaction to witness the many community-betterment projects being carried on by our affiliates—projects that are constantly creating for the American Federation of Labor in Ohio a position of greater responsibility and respect.

A rough estimate has indicated that there are 500,000 members of Ohio A. F. of L. unions who are affiliated through their local unions and central bodies with the Ohio State Federation of Labor. With the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and our affiliated organizations, the officers of the Ohio State Federation of Labor have maintained a constant organizational drive that has borne fruit toward our quest of 100 per cent affiliation.

Ohio's diversified industries are not centralized in any particular geographical section of the state. While we have many large cities enjoying the benefits of large industries, we also have in Ohio numerous small communities which have become sites for a surprisingly large portion of the state's industries. It is in these smaller localities that we must concentrate the greatest share of our organizational activities.

For example, the Southern part of Ohio could boast of very little industry ten years ago. In the past few years this region has become a thriving industrial area due to government projects. Thanks to the generous assistance of A. F. of L. organizers and many international unions, the labor movement is securing many members in Southern Ohio. These members give their support to the movement's lofty ideas and purposes.

We deem our work in the field of organization as the necessary prelude to the State Federation of Labor's primary function of promoting the welfare of the working people through legislation. It is in the organizational field that we have found the necessary spark to generate the force which enabled the working people of our state to avert the shackles of a "right to work" law and a cleverly concocted political gag during the recent session of our General Assembly.

The success of our movement in Ohio must be attributed to the harmonious relationship between the State Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations. Full credit must be given to the many local officials throughout the state who have shown wisdom, leadership and unswerving dedication to the labor movement. Harmony and coopera-



Buckeye State's Federation of Labor has a fine pair of officers in Michael Lyden (left), president, and Phil Hannah, secretary

tion have enabled our State Federation of Labor to promote the interests of the workers in an effective manner and to thwart the selfish motives of reaction.

In discussing the Ohio State Federation of Labor's role in the field of legislation, we must emphasize that our organization has not devoted its efforts solely to encourage the adoption of legislative measures to improve the living standards of union members. Rather, it has endorsed and actively supported every constructive measure in behalf of the public as a whole.

The Ohio State Federation of Labor has always taken the lead in the campaign to protect women and children in industry. The State Federation of Labor sponsored the Ohio workmen's compensation act—the first legislation of its kind in our nation. William Green, then a state senator, was in the forefront during the struggle for the enactment of this unprecedented statute. The State Federation of Labor has been instrumental, too, in the enactment of such vital social legislation as old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

During recent sessions of the General Assembly, the Ohio State Federation of Labor has found it necessary to expend most of its efforts to protect previous hard-won gains. Much the same situation prevails in other states as the reactionaries become more entrenched through antiquated and unfair representation laws.

The Ohio labor movement is undaunted. We do not accept this situation. We have a great faith in the labor movement of our state and resolutely believe it will surmount this political crisis and continue onward with its humanitarian accomplishments.

Soon the Ohio State Federation of Labor and its affiliates will be called upon to merge themselves with their counterparts of the C.I.O. in order to form a united state labor movement. There remain but a few skeptical members of both organizations concerning this venture. The Ohio State Federation of Labor, in line with its inherent policy of strongly supporting the position of the American Federation of Labor, is doing everything possible to allay the apprehensions within its organization toward the impending merger.

For many years the Ohio State

Federation of Labor has entered into cooperative ventures with the Ohio C.I.O. Council. We have enjoyed the most amiable of relations, especially in the areas of politics, community affairs and public relations. This spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance has been reflected in the activities of our affiliated city central bodies and local unions throughout the state. At the seventieth annual convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, which was held in August, this remarkable spirit of cooperation again manifested itself when the 700 delegates unanimously approved a resolution calling for all-out assistance in the Ohio C.I.O.

Council's November 8 statewide referendum to liberalize and humanize the Ohio Unemployment Compensation Act.

The Ohio State Federation takes great pride in representing the American Federation of Labor movement in Ohio. We have been fortunate in receiving the unqualified support of strong local unions, energetic city central bodies and wide-awake trade union councils. This backing has enabled us to function in our great industrial state as a well-knit and progressive labor movement—a movement dedicated to the principle of keeping all of the state's workers abreast of economic developments.

The Labor Bookshelf

Two New Books Reviewed by
HARRY W. FLANNERY

THE EXPLOSION. By Rainer Hildebrandt. Introduction by Norbert Muhlen. Little, Brown, in association with Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 198 pages. \$3.75.

ONE of the most historic and exciting days in international trade union history is June 17, 1953.

The West Berliners, with glorious audacity, have renamed that part of the Charlottenbergstrasse which leads into the free West sector June 17 Strasse. They have dared to flaunt this date before the Russians on the other side of the Brandenberger Gate, which marks the boundary line between the two parts of the island city.

Last summer, on the June 17 anniversary, official West Germany and individuals all over the country took part in programs to commemorate this date of freedom. And now Rainer Hildebrandt, 40, has written a book on June 17. It isn't a conscientious, deadly recital of events, together with a roll of names. Instead, it is an account in fiction form of what happened with all the excitement and suspense of a novel.

Hildebrandt was a member of the underground which plotted to oust Hitler. He continues his fight for freedom in a post with RIAS, the American radio station in Berlin, which broadcasts to East Germany. Because of his life interest, and also because he is a good reporter and writer, Hildebrandt was able to put together a

story that is absorbing and inspiring. He talked with the key figures in the demonstrations, eliciting from them the kind of detail that results in a living story; added his experienced understanding of the psychology of the participants in the developing drama, and put it all down in a narrative that grips the reader as if the whole story was new.

Persons familiar with trade union leaders in Berlin will note with interest the momentary entry into the story of such persons as Ernst Scharnowski, the head of the Free Trade Union Federation in West Berlin; Melvin J. Lasky, the American who edits the scholarly *Der Monat* in Berlin; Gordon Ewing, manager of RIAS, and Gerald Wagner, West Berlin editor for Soviet Zone broadcasts.

From my mention of persons connected with RIAS, I do not want to leave the impression that the story centers around this radio station, interesting and important as it may be. Actually, RIAS is incidental, and is even criticized by the writer, who believes that the West showed a diffident and fatal reluctance to take advantage of the demonstrations in the cause of freedom.

The heroes and heroines are persons whose names have not been known, but with whom more persons will be and should be familiar because of this book. Norbert Muhlen, an American journalist, who has written on West Germany for leading Ameri-

can magazines and journals, writes a foreward that introduces Hildebrandt and a prologue that tells what happened to the main characters in the story once the curtain had fallen on June 17, 1953. E. B. Ashton did the translation.

More people need to know about, be inspired by and have hope because of June 17, 1953. "The Explosion" will help fill that need.

AMERICAN LABOR AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT, 1940 TO 1953. By John P. Windmuller. Cornell International Industrial and Labor Relations Reports. Cornell University. 238 pages. \$3.

THE American working man and woman have a natural and essential interest in international affairs.

As A. F. of L. President Meany said in his Labor Day speech, "All our efforts to build a more secure and rewarding life for the people of our country depend upon the maintenance of world peace and the preservation of freedom. Free labor looks at war as the great destroyer of mankind. Without peace, without freedom, there can be no hope for human progress."

Within the last fifteen years American labor has taken an increasing and expanding interest in world problems. The story of this development is interestingly and well told in "American Labor and the International Labor Movement, 1940 to 1953," written by John P. Windmuller, associate professor of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University.

Windmuller, a slight, unobtrusive chap with big glasses, obtained his material from A. F. of L., C.I.O., W.F.T.U. and I.C.F.T.U. documents, from talks with A. F. of L. and C.I.O. international representatives and from attendance at trade union sessions on international matters. I recall him at the recent International Confederation of Free Trade Unions congress in Vienna, sitting quietly in a side rear seat.

Windmuller begins his report with the A. F. of L.'s joining of the International Secretariat of Trade Union Centers in 1910, with the A. F. of L. proposing the change in name to the International Federation of Trade Unions. Samuel Gompers was influenced into interest in international affairs, says Windmuller, because of his acceptance of the view that labor suffered from the preparations for war, the conduct of war and the aftermath of war out of all proportion to other

segments of society. Labor's interest gradually grew into a realization that its status in any country was affected by wage and other standards in other countries. The A. F. of L. began to act upon this premise in 1934, when it obtained the right to choose the workers' delegate on the U.S. delegation to the I.L.O., and in 1937, when the A. F. of L. became concerned about the spread of fascism in Germany and Italy.

The most dramatic part of the story came following the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which included Soviet Russia, and which the A. F. of L., alone among major labor organizations, refused to join. The A. F. of L. pointed out that no free trade unions exist in Russia and that the so-called unions there were merely another arm of world communism. The fight went on for years, culminating in the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which has not only excluded labor federations in Soviet Russia and the satellite countries, but also Yugoslavia, Spain, Argentina, Venezuela and every other country where the trade unions are not free.

Windmuller takes the story of the I.C.F.T.U. through the congress in Stockholm and near the end sets forth what he considers to be American labor's goals in the international labor movement.

"The first goal rests on the conviction that there are two forces in the world today vying for power and supremacy," he says. "One represents democracy, the other totalitarianism. One means freedom, the other slavery. One permits and fosters free trade unionism; the other uses

and destroys it. One is a peaceful force, the other an aggressor. One is good, the other evil.

"From this conviction stems the primary task of the I.C.F.T.U.: strengthening the forces of political democracy and defending them against all forms of totalitarianism throughout the world.

"The chief enemy is communism as a powerful imperialist movement and as a revolutionary ideology, but totalitarianisms of the Right are also to be condemned. To guard against future Communist successes and to insure the ultimate triumph of democracy, the I.C.F.T.U. must become aggressively involved in the struggle in those areas where the threat is greatest and the outcome most in balance.

"Second—and in support of this goal—the I.C.F.T.U. should act on the international scene somewhat as American trade unions act on the domestic scene. It must help in creating conditions favorable to the growth of trade unions, and then help such unions secure a fair share of the fruits of progress.

"Finally, no one geographical area, no one ideological orientation and certainly no one country must be allowed to achieve a dominant position in the I.C.F.T.U. since that could lead only in one of two directions: either the I.C.F.T.U. would soon become a small, ineffectual organization because no self-respecting trade union would consent to domination by another, or—and worse—the same condition would arise in the I.C.F.T.U. which it is dedicated to defeat on the world scene, namely, the imposition of the views of one section of the I.C.F.T.U. on the other sections through open or concealed exercise of power."

Attention, Ladies!

If you want the best possible value for your money—and, of course, you do—be sure that you spend the family's dollars only on those goods and services that definitely merit a trade unionist's patronage. In other words, whenever you buy anything, make it a point to look for and insist upon the union label, the union shop card and the union service button.

Union-made goods and union-performed services are tops in value. Today, more than ever before, we all want more for our money. And you can get more—and easily—by remembering just one simple rule . . .

ALWAYS BUY UNION!

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

Three thousand A. F. of L. members employed by automobile dealers in the Oakland, Calif., area have obtained higher wages and fringe benefits in a new agreement between the East Bay Automotive Council and the East Bay Motor Car Dealers Association. Unions composing the Council include Local 1546, Auto Machinists; Local 78, Teamsters, and Local 1176, Auto and Ship Painters.

Substantial wage increases highlight a two-year agreement of the Laborers and the North Central Contractors Association. The accord brings benefits to several hundred union members in the following Indiana counties: Howard, Tipton, Miami and Fulton.

Local 301, Office Employees, has signed a contract with the Construction Workers Trust Fund in Baltimore. The agreement calls for the union shop, 37½-hour workweek, seven paid holidays, automatic increases and fully paid health and welfare coverage.

Local 142, Laundry Workers, has negotiated its first contract with Chapman Launderers and Dry Cleaners, La Grange, Ill. Employees obtain increased wages, double time for holiday work, seniority rights and many other benefits.

Local 682, Teamsters, has reached an agreement with material dealers in St. Louis. The new contract calls for substantial higher wages and better working conditions for 600 members.

Ray Mills has been reelected as president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. Earl Baum has been reelected to the office of secretary.

The Chemical Workers have chartered Local 595 at Toronto, Canada; Local 590, Libertyville, Ill., and Local 599, Minden, La.

By a vote of 32 to 8, the Meat Cutters have won a representation election held at the Colonial Packing plant in Boca Raton, Fla.



LABOR DAY IN DULUTH was marked by a joint picnic of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in that Minnesota city. Leaders of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. participated, and Governor Orville Freeman (third from left) was present. The joint event was most successful. In the photo below, the Carpenters' float in this year's big Labor Day parade held in Springfield, Missouri. For many years outstanding parades have been held in that community to mark labor's own holiday.



The Office Employees made gains at the Knights of Columbus national headquarters in New Haven, Conn., after a short strike.

Local 24 of the Bakery Workers has signed new accords with five San Francisco companies calling for substantial wage increases.

Local 104, Grain Millers, has negotiated a new agreement with Swift and Company calling for a wage increase.

Higher pay is provided in a pact between Local 595, Electrical Workers, and union contractors in Alameda County, Calif.

Local 691 of the Upholsterers International Union reports that it has recently signed new pacts with seven Los Angeles firms.

Local 98 of the Painters, in a one-year pact with Detroit contractors, has won an increase of 19½ cents an hour.

Local 114 of the Bakery Workers has won a wage boost and a shorter workweek in a new agreement with bakeries in the Portland, Oreg., area.

The Boilermakers and the Machinists have won a joint representation election among employees of the Fritz Glitz Company, Dallas, Tex.

HOW THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT ROBS THE WORKER OF HIS RIGHTS

Do you want to know more about the Taft-Hartley Act and the so-called "right to work" laws? Free literature which gives you all the facts is available upon request. Simply send a letter or postcard today to the American Federation of Labor, Washington 1, D.C.

►Local 127, Insurance Agents, has negotiated its first contract with Rocky Mountain Motorists, Inc. Negotiations lasted a year. The pact is the first which the Insurance Agents have won from an affiliate of the American Automobile Association.

►Local 460, Teamsters, in new agreements with three St. Joseph, Mo., wholesale plumbing supply firms, has obtained wage increases and improved vacation provisions.

►Local 368 of the Retail Clerks in Dallas, Texas, has been chosen as bargaining agent by employees of Safeway, McCrory and Woolworth stores.

►The Carpenters in California have negotiated an agreement with contractors calling for a wage boost aggregating 22½ cents an hour. The pact covers eleven counties.

►The Denver Metal Trades Council has won a 10-cent hourly increase for 600 workers in a pact with the Dow Chemical Company, operator of the Rocky Flats atomic installation.

►Higher pay has been won by Federal Labor Union 22177 for 5,000 employees of the Michigan Consolidated Gas Company.

►Local 357, Glass Workers, Detroit, in a new contract with jobbers, has obtained a 12½-cent wage increase and other advances.

►Building trades unions in Indianapolis, Ind., have won higher hourly rates in new accords with contractors.

►Higher wages have been obtained by Local 301 of the Upholsterers at three companies in Jefferson, Wis.

►Local 1441, Public Employees, has been chartered in Jamestown, N. Dak.

►By a vote of 1,483 to 245, the Screen Extras Guild has voted against the adoption of a system of fines for members who fail to attend meetings of the A. F. of L. affiliate. The S.E.G., like many other unions in this TV era, seeks better attendance at its meetings—but it wants a solution of the problem other than imposition of monetary penalties for non-attendance.

►Local 754, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, Cleveland, has won wage boosts at the Robinson Tube Fabricators Company, the Buckeye Brass Manufacturing Company and the Columbian Vise Division.

►Increases of 10 to 27½ cents an hour have been won by the Carpenters, Teamsters, Laborers, Operating Engineers and Cement Masons in a new agreement with Arizona building contractors.

►Federal Labor Union 22321, Detroit, has won a 12½-cent package increase and additional benefits in a new pact with the Steel Cooperage Division of the Serrick Corporation.

►Georgia Local 5 of the Bricklayers recently celebrated its fifty-fifth anniversary. Members and their families were in attendance. Local 5 operates in Savannah.

►Ten days of sick leave, six paid holidays and an improved vacation plan have been won by Local 565 of the Public Employees at New Ulm, Minn.

►Higher pay and improved working conditions have been won after a strike by Local 333, Painters, in San Diego, Calif. The agreement will run for two years.

►Local 27, Elevator Constructors, has won higher pay and fringe benefits in a new agreement at Rochester, N. Y.

►The Brick and Clay Workers have boosted the hourly wage received by 650 members at Brazil, Ind.

►Iron lungs for public use in Southern Illinois have been donated by Local 520, Operating Engineers.

►Local 392, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has won a 30-cent hourly wage boost at Uniontown, Pa.

►Local 243, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has won a substantial wage boost at Morgantown, W. Va.

►The Molders and Foundry Workers in Ohio have won a wage increase in an agreement with the Miami Valley Foundrymen's Association. The association represents foundries in Cincinnati, Dayton and Hamilton. Approximately 3,000 employees are covered by the agreement.

►Local 691, Motion Picture Operators, has reached an agreement with the Center Theater at Bluefield, W. Va. Union members picketed the theater for a month before the new owner agreed to rehire union projectionists and increase pay scales.

►Local 41 of the International Typographical Union is reported to be the oldest labor organization in Georgia. Local 41's territory is the city of Augusta.

►Higher pay every six months is provided in an agreement between Local 36 of the Painters and contractors in Phoenix, Ariz. The pact affects 1,000 members.

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(8) **BERNARD TASSLER**
Managing Editor,
THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 14th day of September, 1955.

ROBERT J. MCKENNA
Notary Public,
District of Columbia
(Seal)

My commission expires February 28, 1958.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Gold cards have been presented to two veteran members of Illinois Local 20 of the Bricklayers. They are George Kunert and Ragnar Fredrickson. Local 20 takes in Lake County.

The Actors' Equity Association has reelected Ralph Bellamy as president. Approval was given to merger of Chorus Equity with Actors' Equity.

Members of Local 40, Mailers, Detroit, have won a wage increase at newspaper printing concerns.

Local 167, Butcher Workmen, has gained a wage boost at Stark, Wetzel and Company, Indianapolis, Ind.

A wage increase of 15 cents an hour has been won by Local 48, Painters, in Worcester, Mass. The new contract will run until June 30 of next year. The new hourly rate is \$2.50.

Local 108, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has won higher hourly rates in Jackson, Mich.

Local 172, Poultry Workers, has recently signed a new accord with the Sun-Ray Packing Company, Stafford, Mo.

Local 381, Paper Workers, has won substantial wage boosts at four New York City paper companies.

Local 75, Iron Workers, has obtained an agreement in Arizona which calls for two 15-cent increases and a welfare plan.

Meat Cutters' Local 452, Memphis, Tenn., swept an election held at the Food Center Company in that city.

Bricklayers' Local 5 of West Virginia has recently dedicated its new union hall at Huntington.

Local 98, Retail Clerks, has been victorious in elections at Aurora, Ill.

Local 65 of the Plasterers has lifted its wage scale in Minneapolis.

The Fight Must Go On

(Continued from Page 9)

This formula for middle-income housing first received Congressional attention in the Sparkman-Spence middle-income housing bill of 1950.

The formula in that bill called for long-term mortgage loans for housing for middle income families at an interest rate of approximately three per cent. This is about two per cent less than the current rate of approximately five per cent. The American Federation of Labor strongly backed this bill. It won a great deal of support, in a remarkably short time, from people all over the country and from many members of Congress. Although it was reported favorably by both the Senate and House Banking Committees, the bill failed of actual passage by fairly close votes in both houses. Soon after, the Korean war made it impossible to obtain such legislation.

The basic formula in the 1950 bill is still the only method which has been proposed for making available non-subsidized housing to middle-income families at costs they can really afford. This kind of program for middle-income housing should be one of the strongest planks in labor's housing platform.

Here then are the two essential ingredients for a housing program which for the first time would really give all families, regardless of the level of their income, an opportunity to obtain decent housing:

First, construction of at least 200,000 units of low-rent public housing each year for low-income families.

Second, low-cost, long-amortization loans to provide housing for middle-income families at moderate costs that they can really afford.

With a large number of new houses being built for low- and middle-income families now priced out of the housing market, construction of 2,000,000 houses a year would be readily achievable. This would immeasurably improve the living conditions of hundreds of thousands of families. It would also provide an all-important prop to the nation's economic prosperity.

A sufficient volume of housing for low- and middle-income families would also

make feasible slum clearance on a large scale and fundamental city rebuilding. With an adequate volume of housing being built for families in the low- and middle-income brackets there would be no problem of where such families would be housed when their slum dwellings are torn down. It would mean that at long last we could

Two Labor Conventions in Japan

(Continued from Page 11)

seems to be politically naive. In a recent press interview he was quoted as follows:

"I think I can support the Communist Party in its present form, though such a remark may be offensive. * * * I think [unions] would do well to collaborate as widely as possible."

Kaoru Ohta, prior to Sohyo's convention, called for a "stopping of the drawing of the line of distinction from the Communists so long as it maintains independence."

One wonders what is the future for this powerful Sohyo organization.

The Ohta-Iwai leadership is dedicated to unification of Sohyo and Zenro, to the waging of new economic struggles and to a linking of the workers in nongovernment industry with government workers (60 per cent of Sohyo) in their efforts to make gains. Coordinated civilian-government strikes in the not-distant past led to disaster in coal and electric power. If the Left Socialists have seemingly advanced, particularly in terms of financial support, their progress is not so real as it looks, for the Matsumoto wing of the Left Socialist Party is firmly pro-Takano and pro-Cominform and doesn't like the ousting of Takano.

The bitter fight between the Takano and Iwai factions spells little "peaceful co-existence" for the politically split leadership of Sohyo. A few weeks after the Sohyo convention, Mr. Ohta addressed his own Synthetic Chemical Workers Union convention. He spoke of Takano as "an enemy of the working class" and bluntly said that the Ohta-Iwai group would run Sohyo.

begin to replan and redevelop our cities to make them fine places to live and work in, cities that would make their citizens swell with pride and glow with well-being.

These are the goals that are within our grasp if we can win the approval of Congress for a forward-looking housing program.

This year's "moral victory," though the bill it produced was extremely inadequate, must be only the first step on the road to better housing for the nation.

Minoru Takano in his time has led quite a few labor leaders to the edge of a cliff and, as they walked over it to their destruction, he softly said: "Excuse me." With some of the levers of power in his hands, and with an ability at political judo which even threw MacArthur's headquarters for the count, one wonders how long Ohta and Iwai can prevent a split of Sohyo on their own political end.

History seems to be repeating itself. In 1948, as Sanbetsu reached the pinnacle of its power, it built the Sanbetsu kaikan, a large hall in Tokyo. Sanbetsu collapsed within one year. On June 25 of this year Sohyo held a grand celebration in Tokyo, and that celebration was held in the just-opened Sohyo kaikan.

IN CONTRAST to the highly political fight at the Sohyo convention, the 136 Zenro delegates who met in Tokyo to hammer out Zenro policies were agreed on basic philosophy, basic techniques and basic objectives. The clan groups and political constellations which have criss-crossed the Sohyo organization have not appeared inside Zenro.

Instead of devoting their convention to a Socialist factional-political feud, the Zenro boys talked about wages and hours, about the growing unemployment in the textile industry and the attempt of the government and the employers to, as they say, "place the burden on the back of labor."

The American-financed productivity center (ostensibly an agent of the Japanese government), which was formed by the

You

**MAKE THE
DECISIONS
AT YOUR
UNION MEETING**

ATTEND REGULARLY

government and some employers and then invited labor to join, was critically discussed. A cautious attitude was taken by the convention, for with the textile industry of Japan in decline, the Zenro textile leaders are not talking of "rationalization" at this point but how to save jobs.

The sterling and gentlemanly Minoru Takita, youngish head of the strong Japan Textile Workers Union and also chairman of Zenro, was reelected for another term without opposition. Sen Koga of Sodomei was reelected as first vice president, and Haruo Wada, busy secretary-general of Zenro and concurrently director of organization of the Japan Seamen's Union, was reelected without opposition.

When Zenro was formed during the spring of 1954, the only I.C.F.T.U. affiliate to send a message was the American Federation of Labor. In marked contrast, the Zenro convention this year was virtually swamped with messages from I.C.F.T.U. leaders and I.C.F.T.U. affiliates all over the world. Zenro is only one year old, but it has made the grade as one of the really militant affiliates and supporters of the I.C.F.T.U. in the Far East.

Zenro decided against any possible reunification with Sohyo. As one Zenro leader told the writer *vis-à-vis* the election of Iwai, "They have put a new chair in the parlor, but the parlor remains the same."

On the other hand, the one criticism that can be made of Zenro is its inability to show any marked increase other than for the fact that the Northern Japan Electric Power Workers Union, once with Sohyo, now has joined Zenro and is dedicated to a pro-democratic, anti-Communist trade union position.

Unless and until Zenro can organize the millions of unorganized workers in medium and small enterprises in Japan, the unbalanced Sohyo organization of politically minded and leftist government workers' unions will dominate the scene. But if Zenro can organize the unorganized and give Japan a strong and dynamic trade union leadership, it is entirely possible that Sohyo will go the way of Sanbetsu.

If Zenro has any one dominating need now, it is for a reorganized structure wherein drives can be launched to organize the trades and services and industries of Japan which are now unorganized. With less than ten full-time Zenro organizers to cover a nation of 88,000,000, the other urgent need is for a mighty training program producing hundreds of young men and women organizers capable of and desiring to organize the unorganized.

Perhaps the future of Sohyo was best indicated by the voice of Radio Free Japan, the clandestine broadcasting station on the China mainland which is clearly heard in Japan. *Red Flag*, the official organ of the Communist Party, reprinted the call of

Radio Free Japan for "no plotting, no splitting" within Sohyo. If Takano was for the nonce sacrificed by the Communists in the interests of a broader labor unity, one wonders how long Takano and Iwai can live in the same Sohyo *kaikan*!

Jewish Labor in the U.S.

(Continued from Page 21)

everything they had undergone, the Jewish unions were not unprepared for the magnificent opportunities that the inauguration of the New Deal and the passage of the NRA with its Section 7a (guaranteeing the right of self-organization and collective bargaining) presented to the labor movement. All unions in this country profited by the opportunity, but it is a matter of record that the major garment workers' organizations made most spectacular gains.

As important perhaps in the long run as the "rebirth" of the unions was the entry of Jewish labor into American politics under the New Deal. In the middle 1930s, Jewish labor began to assume an active part in the various organizations that the American labor movement was setting up to mobilize support for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal Administration. This venture into politics was something very different from the radical agitation that had been passing under that name among Jewish workers. This was politics in the American sense, in and through the old parties. The new departure proved a big success and met with an enthusiastic response among the masses of Jewish workers. It was an experience that virtually completed the long process of the Americanization of the Jewish labor movement in this country.

The Jewish labor movement as it was "reborn" under the New Deal was something very different from what it had been a decade or two before. The transformation had been going on beneath the surface almost from the very beginning, but it required the sensational developments of the 1930s—the Roosevelt "revolution" on the one side and the Hitler terror on the other—to bring the hidden processes out into the open and reveal the new face of the Jewish labor movement.

What was the Jewish labor movement in its older form? Basically, it was a fairly compact group of unions of Jewish membership and leadership, using Yiddish as a means of communication, surrounded by a constellation of Yiddish-language cultural, political and fraternal groups. Clearly, that is not what the Jewish labor movement is today. What has happened?

Almost at the beginning, a double process had set in. On the one hand, the immigrant Jews and their children were becoming Americanized, so that Yiddish was fast giving way to English as a vehicle of communication and expression. On the other hand, Jewish workers strained all their resources to send their sons, and later their daughters, to school to equip them for white-collar and professional occupations. In these respects the immigrant Jews were falling in with what was already becoming the established American pattern of cultural and social advance.

For the Jewish labor movement, this double process meant that, particularly on its trade union side, it was becoming less and less Jewish in composition and less and less Yiddish in language and culture. When Jewish immigration was brought to an abrupt halt by the outbreak of world war in 1914, and later greatly reduced by the quota legislation of the 1920s, the trend emerged clearly enough.

By the middle 1930s there was no longer a Jewish labor movement in the older sense in this country. The great "Jewish unions" were no longer overwhelmingly Jewish in composition; they were "mixed" unions in the general American sense. What Samuel Gompers had foreseen would happen had actually occurred.

And yet in another sense the Jewish labor movement was becoming more "Jewish" than it had ever been before. The earlier Jewish labor movement had felt itself alien to the general Jewish community and had adopted a rather hostile attitude to Jewish religion and tradition. With the increasing integration of the Jewish workers into American life, this radical negativism began to dissipate. On the other side, the demonic resurgence of anti-Semitism in Europe under Hitler greatly stimulated a new sense of Jewish identification and solidarity. The Jewish labor movement grew more Jewish in the breadth and intensity of its Jewish concern as it became less Jewish in composition.

The old-time Jewish unions drew closer to the general Jewish community and threw themselves vigorously into all sorts of Jewish causes and activities, as they did into the causes and activities that interested other sections of their membership. Their Jewish concern was primarily directed toward aiding the victims of war and political terrorism abroad, toward supporting the newly established State of Israel and toward fighting intolerance at home.

Just as the United Hebrew Trades symbolized the Jewish labor movement in its older form, so agencies like the Jewish Labor Committee characterize Jewish labor in its newer phase. The "Jewishness" of the Jewish labor movement today is primarily a matter not of composition, language or culture but of identification, concern and interest.

This transformation in the character of the Jewish labor movement was already obvious in the years immediately preceding the Second World War, but the war years greatly stimulated the process. The Jewish labor movement emerged from the Second World War more Jewish and yet more American, more Jewish because more American, than anyone could conceivably have foreseen at the time of its birth.

What has been the enduring significance of the Jewish labor movement on the larger

American scene? What have been its basic contributions to American labor, to American democracy and to American Jewish life?

The Jewish labor movement, next to the public school, has been the primary factor in the Americanization of the immigrant Jews who came to these shores in the decades of the great immigration. That the Jewish immigrants did not fall into a state of demoralization in the face of the disappointments and difficulties of life in the sweatshops and tenements, that they indeed soon came to appreciate the fundamental values of American democracy and to feel themselves part of the larger America, was to an incalculable degree the work of the Jewish labor movement.

The Jewish labor movement lifted the immigrants out of their material misery and slowly improved the conditions of their life and work. But more, the Jewish labor movement brought to the immigrants, strange and forlorn in a new world, a real sense of belonging. Through the Jewish labor movement the immigrant workers were brought into contact with American labor men whom they felt they could trust and even understand, despite all differences of culture and language. Through the Jewish labor movement, the immigrant workers were introduced to American politics, not very realistically, perhaps, from the present-day standpoint, but effectively nevertheless.

The unions, the Workmen's Circle, the various political and cultural groups served as a laboratory and training ground in the practice of collective self-government through the democratic process. Union meetings, debates, conventions and elections taught the politically inexperienced immigrants how public affairs could be run by free discussion, the ballot and mutual tolerance.

The labor press, too, was a powerful instrument in the Americanization of the immigrant workers. The earlier generations of Jewish workers learned most of what they knew about the United States, American history and the American way of life from the columns of the *Forward*, which was almost from the beginning the leading Jewish labor newspaper. This work was supplemented by the educational activities that the Jewish unions and the Workmen's Circle set going as soon as they could muster sufficient resources. Looking back now in the perspective of more than half a century, we can see that the Jewish labor movement was, in a very real sense, the making of the Jewish immigrant worker as a trade unionist and as an American.

Although Jewish labor came on the scene relatively late in the development of the American labor movement, it has been a pioneer in industrial relations in the past four decades. The Jewish unions, of course, found a tradition of collective bargaining already in existence when they emerged early in this century. But they did not merely follow in the wake of that tradition. They immediately began to make labor history, and they have continued to do so to the present day.

Unionism in the women's garment industry, it will be remembered, was established by two great strikes conducted by the I.L.G.W.U., the strike of the waistmakers

in 1909 and that of the cloakmakers in 1910, both in New York. The celebrated "protocol of peace" was regarded at the time as a great "social invention" of profound significance for the future of industrial relations. This is still the verdict today.

"Protocolism" soon became dominant as a principle of industrial relations in the organized sector of both the women's and the men's garment industries. Before long, a body of industrial usage and custom arose which, to quote Professor E. D. Howard, "like English common law, grew into a codified system," a "path of constitutionalism in the jungle of American industrial relations." The "impartial chairman" idea, which came out of "protocolism," spread to other industries and trades.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, too, served as a trail-blazer for the labor movement. Union-management cooperation, industrial stabilization, inclusion of the health and welfare of the workers in collective agreements as the concern of industry, and other matters that have become standard aspects of collective bargaining, were first brought forward by these unions.

By and large, industrial relations have proved most stable and enduring and have achieved the greatest measure of security in those fields where unions growing out of the old Jewish labor movement have operated. Neither the I.L.G.W.U. nor the A.C.W. has known a real general strike for over two decades, and nowhere is the system of collective industrial relations, industrial democracy in the genuine sense, as extensive, efficient and securely established as in industries in which these two unions and the third of the "big three," the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, have jurisdiction. The pioneering of the Jewish unions in the field of collective bargaining and industrial relations undeniably constitutes a great and enduring contribution to American democracy.

TO THE wider affairs of the labor movement, too, Jewish labor has made a unique contribution. From the earliest days Jewish unions felt themselves close to the general American labor movement, despite all cultural and ideological differences. They felt that the American labor movement was their proper home and made every effort to strengthen their ties with it. Yet they also felt that they were somehow

"different" and had something unique to contribute. And they were right. For although their radicalism was largely unreal and irrelevant to American reality, it did give them a perspective beyond the narrow horizons of day-to-day union affairs, and this perspective they brought with them into the councils of American labor. Samuel Gompers, who had little use for their ideology, knew how to appreciate their spirit, and he was always their friend. With increasing experience, and under the impact of historical events, they began to lose their radical externals, but they did not lose their distinctive character.

To the American Jewish community, also, Jewish labor has made its unique contribution. In its earlier days Jewish labor in America had felt itself outside of Jewish community life, and in a sense hostile to it. Today Jewish labor has become an integral part of the American Jewish community. Jewish labor leaders are to be found in the leading councils of the most important Jewish community institutions, and a number of special agencies have been established through which Jewish labor makes its influence directly felt in community affairs. Organized labor has become one of the biggest contributors to Jewish causes. The schism that began in Europe, and that was transplanted here with the early Jewish immigration, has now at last been overcome.

American Jews not long ago celebrated the 300th anniversary of their first coming to these shores. In America they have found a home more secure and an existence freer and more honorable than anywhere else in the long history of the Diaspora. Organized labor emerged late in American Jewish life; the Jewish labor movement in this country is hardly three-quarters of a century old. And yet in this brief period Jewish labor has proved itself not merely an organic part of American Jewish life, but a power second only to the synagogue in its influence on American Jews, and second only to the public school as a force for Americanization and integration.

Of all aspects of Jewish life, moreover, it has proved itself perhaps the most significant in its contribution to the wider concerns of American society. It is a contribution which is still being made in the everyday activity of the hundreds of thousands of men and women, leaders and rank-and-filers, who constitute the Jewish labor movement in the United States.

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WHAT THEY SAY

William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer, American Federation of Labor—The role of labor as a national entity, representing the interests and aims which all workers share in common—regardless of trade, industrial or geographical lines—has made it essential to secure a larger voice in national affairs. Labor has learned from long experience that the welfare of our members and of our local communities cannot be isolated from national trends and national issues. Tax and monetary policies, budget appropriations, social security matters, the use of our natural resources, as well as labor legislation and other vital decisions, are all decided in the marketplace of national politics. Yet their consequences affect all of those matters in which we are most directly concerned—the jobs, the wages, the living standards, the security, the freedom, even the very survival of our members. They may go far toward nullifying or defeating any gains we may make through voluntary economic action. To the extent that labor is affected by the consequences, therefore, it is our simple duty to seek an effective part in the decisions. This the American Federation of Labor has done, and this it will continue to do.



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Walter P. Reuther, president, Congress of Industrial Organizations—



The opportunity for continued advancement of the workers' interests and the nation's well-being has been tremendously heightened by the developing achievement of unity between the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor. With our colleagues and brothers in the A. F. of L., we have made steady and rapid

progress toward ending the split in the American labor movement and toward building a single mighty labor federation more capable than any in world history of making major contributions to the well-being of all people. The new American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, with a membership of over 15,000,000, should—and, I am convinced, will—serve as a bulwark of American democracy and economic progress. The new merged labor organization carries forward the best traditions of the C.I.O. and of the A. F. of L. It will be firmly dedicated to the public interest. We in the C.I.O. fully recognize the tremendous responsibility that merger will bring to the labor movement. The merger agreement and the constitution of the new labor federation are evidence of the recognition of that tremendous responsibility which labor gladly and proudly assumes. The new labor organization will be a force for good.

P. L. Siemiller, vice-president, International Association of Machinists—Political activity must be a basic trade union responsibility and function. This does not mean that we of labor should attach ourselves to a political party. But



it does mean that we go all-out in interest and activity in political affairs—in all phases of such affairs, including legislative issues and nomination and election of candidates from county supervisors to Congressional representatives and, of course, President of the United States. Labor's interest in politics is not exactly new. But in the past it was always an uneven interest, strong in some places and totally lacking in others. A date which will go down in the history books as marking a big change in the attitude of labor toward politics was 1947. That was the year when the Eightieth Congress enacted the Taft-Hartley Law. Our enemies have been teaching us that we have

got to be active in politics. Not only in Congress but in the state legislatures, the anti-union politicians have been pounding and beating the lessons into our heads. The conclusion has been forced upon us that, if we are to escape regulation and restriction by the politicians, we will have to do some regulating and restricting of the politicians. We can do this legitimately and properly in the elections by voting out our enemies. We have got to get into politics all the way in order to fight not only for retention of our rights as trade unionists but even for our rights as citizens.

Dave Beck, president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters—Our maturing labor movement has a three-fold obligation—to the membership, to the community and to the nation. Our first obligation is toward the membership.



That is a continuing responsibility and one we must never shirk or short-change. We must work diligently and ceaselessly on the economic front to carry out our obligation to the membership. We must work on the political front without regard to political parties when and where the occasion demands, but economic efforts come first. Trade unionists are integral parts of every community, and as such we have an obligation to participate in community affairs and to provide manpower and leadership on community projects. Unions and union members are playing roles of growing importance in national affairs. In terms of labor's strength, numbers and contributions to the national effort, it has not received the recognition on public boards, commissions and other governmental bodies to which it is entitled. Our job is to see that labor's voice is heard at the national as well as the local level. The job ahead for labor is challenging, but I am certain that the energetic application of intelligence, strength and foresight will be rewarded with growing success in the months and years ahead.

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SO NICE TO BELONG

HARRY hurried along the street. He didn't want to be late. He cut across the vacant lot that was opposite the filling station and trotted between it and the parking lot.

"What's your hurry?" asked Benjy Thompson, catching sight of his friend. Benjy had an after-school job at a filling station.

"Got lots to do," replied Harry without reducing his speed.

"Must have," said Benjy as the other boy disappeared around the corner. Benjy returned to his work, but looked up in surprise as he heard the sound of running footsteps and recognized two more of his school-mates taking the same route Harry had just taken. They were scooting along at Harry's speed. These two were Jerry Stone and Buzz Jenkins.

"Where to?" Benjy shouted to them.

"Union Hall," answered Jerry.

"We'll stop by later," called Buzz as he and Jerry disappeared around the corner.

"Hi there, Benjy!" he was greeted by Ruthie Wilson and Nancy D'Angelo, who were taking the short-cut across the driveway. "Be seeing you."

And they, too, hurried on, instead of stopping for their usual chat with him as he worked at his job.

"What goes on?" wondered Benjy. "That's five of them, and they are all rushing off like crazy."

He went on with his work. A few minutes later he heard the voices of several more of his friends.

"Say, what goes on?" he asked Bill Stephens, one of the group.

"Can't stop now, Benjy," said Bill. "Come on over to Union Hall with us."

"Can't do it, Bill. I'm on the job here. I don't get off until six. What's up?"

"You know," Bill answered. "If we don't come back this way before you leave, come on around to Union Hall. We'll most likely still be there."

And Bill and the others vanished.

Benjy pushed his cap to the back of his head and looked after them in great puzzlement.

Just then a customer drove up. He had to devote his attention to servicing the car. A woman and two girls were in the front seat. He had seen the two girls around school but hadn't met them. They had just entered high school, while he was in his last year. However, he had noticed them, and he greeted them with a friendly grin as he wiped the windshield.

It was from them that he heard the solution of the mystery which had been perplexing him since Harry had first raced past him.

"Betty, I just couldn't bear it if we don't get accepted," the girl in the middle said to her companion.

"I hope we make it, Linda," said Betty, lowering the window.

"Unless we get asked we'll just be out of things at school," said Linda.

Turning to Betty's mother, she continued: "You know how it is, Mrs. Blue. Some organizations are very important and some aren't, and this one happens to be the most. It's the Junior Union. All the kids that are in it are just tops."

"Mother, you know I told you all about it," Betty said. And today is the day they decide who will be asked to the fall festival, which is the first big party of the school year."

Benjy stopped polishing the windshield. He shook his head. Then he broke into an enormous grin.

"So that's it," he told himself. "I should have known. No wonder they didn't stop."

The girls went on talking about the Junior Union and Benjy couldn't help overhearing most of their conversation. He himself was a member of the local. He remembered how he had hoped to be accepted when he first entered high school. It was considered one of the most worthwhile organizations at school, and the prize awarded by the Junior Union to the outstanding senior every year was one very much sought after.

The car drove off. Benjy eyed the clock. He was glad when it struck six. After washing up, he made his way to the Union Hall as rapidly as had his friends a couple of hours earlier. When he arrived he found that they were going over the names of the candidates for Junior Union membership and making out the invitations. Nancy D'Angelo had one of the lists.

"Say, are there two girls down there, Betty and Linda someone?" Benjy asked her.

"There's a Betty Blue and a Linda Richards," Nancy replied. "They go around a lot together. Betty's real pretty and Linda's cute. They both came from Simpson Junior High. Both were in the top ten of their class and were in most of the good activities."

"Thanks, Nancy," Benjy said. "They must be the ones."

Now Sally Goodman spoke up.

"Let's be sure these are all delivered this evening," she said, passing the stacks of envelopes to the boys and girls who were to take them around. Benjy took some to deliver on his way home. He was pleased when, among them, he found one for Betty Blue.

Benjy rang at Betty's door and she answered. With a few words of explanation he handed her the envelope. Smiling, he said: "You may tell your friend Linda she is in, too. One of the others has her envelope."

"Oh, I'm so glad," said Betty, her eyes shining.

"I'm glad, too," said Benjy. "It looks as though we'll have a splendid membership this year. I'm happy you made it."

"Me, too," she said, smiling in the doorway.

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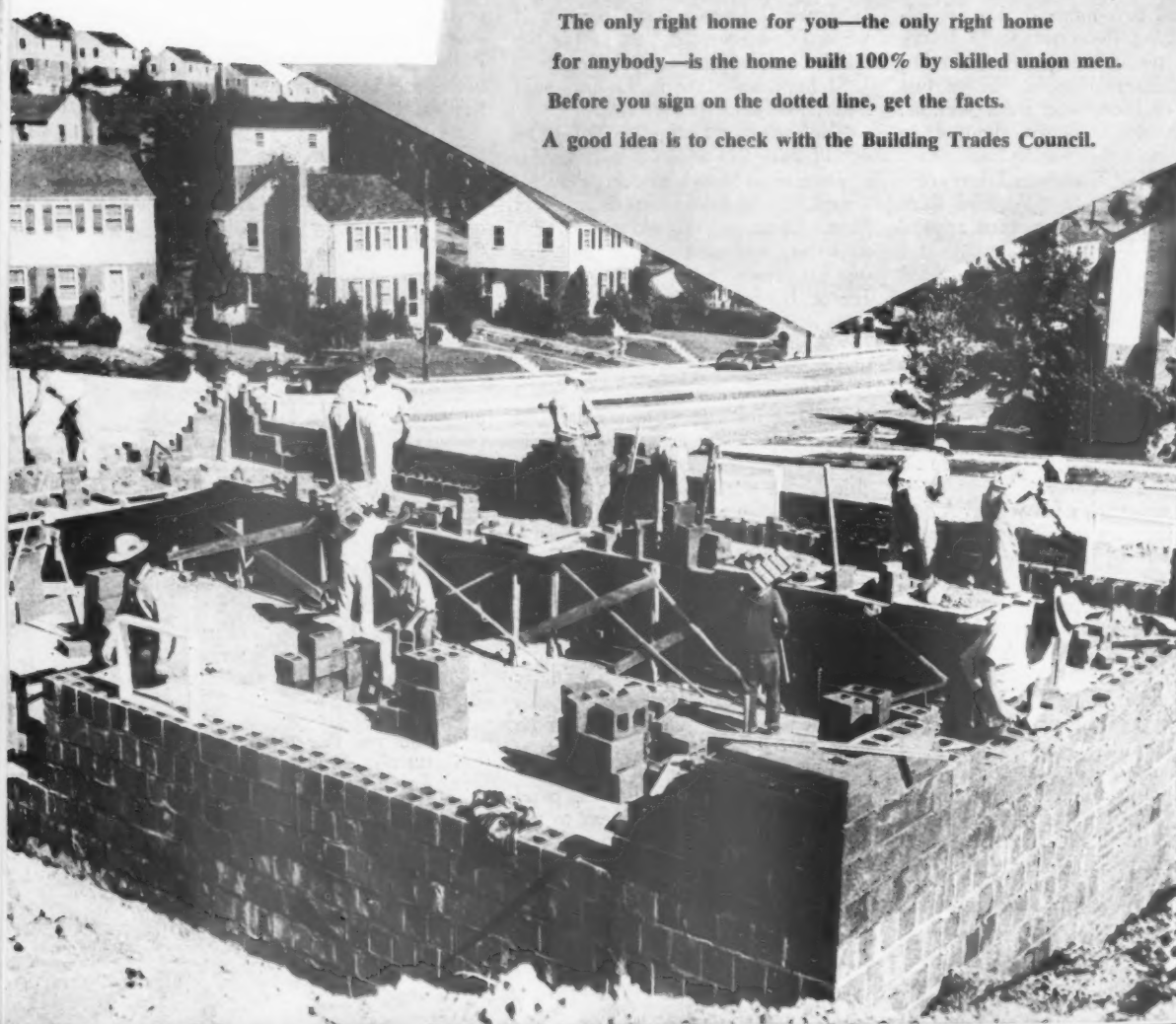
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